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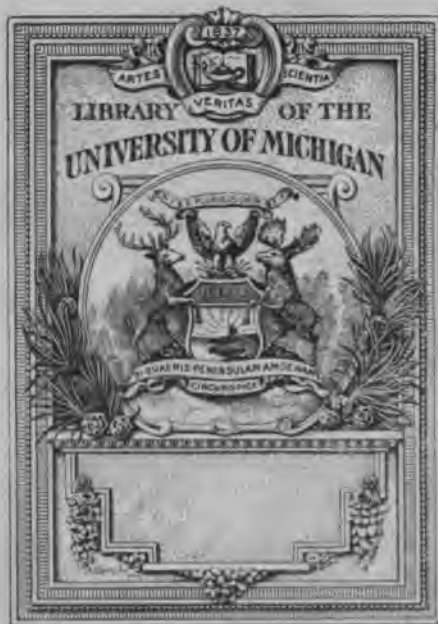
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# THE JOURNAL OF RACE DEVELOPMENT

EDITED BY  
GEORGE H. BLAKESLEE AND G. STANLEY HALL

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## INTRODUCTION

*By Dr. George H. Blakeslee, Clark University*

THE JOURNAL OF RACE DEVELOPMENT offers itself as a forum for the discussion of the problems which relate to the progress of races and states generally considered backward in their standards of civilization. It is not the organ of any particular school of thought; it does not even hold itself responsible for all of the statements of its contributors but it aims to present, by the pen of men who can write with authority, the important facts which bear upon race progress, and the different theories as to the methods by which developed peoples may most effectively aid the progress of the undeveloped. It seeks to discover, not how weaker races may best be exploited, but how they may best be helped by the stronger.

The subjects treated will cover the whole field of a people's life—government, education, religion, industry and social conditions. The races and states which will be most frequently discussed, will be those of India, the Near East, Africa and the Far East—excepting Japan, whose civilization is on a substantial equality with that of the nations of the West.

The necessity of understanding these countries better has come, during the past few years, to be more generally realized in Europe and America. This feeling is due in part to the increased importance of these lands in the political and economic life of the West. Great Britain believes that her imperial position depends upon the maintenance of her control over her dependencies in Asia and Africa. The problem of how best to govern the nations of India is only secondary in England itself to such questions as those of the budget and the House of Lords; while Colonel Roosevelt's recent discussion of the British admin-

istration in Egypt has aroused probably as wide an interest as any of his public utterances in Europe. Germany, not long since, held a general election to determine its policy towards its African colonies. Belgium's greatest task, to-day, is to establish a government fitted for tribes of the Congo. Spain, some twelve years ago, suffered a severe defeat at the hands of America because she had misgoverned the natives of Cuba. Russia's lust for control of the territory of Far Eastern peoples led to her reverses in the war with Japan, and resulted in the outburst of the Russian Revolution.

The United States has as fundamental an interest in races of a less developed civilization as have the powers of Europe. The key to the past seventy-five years of American history is the continuing struggle to find some solution for the negro problem—a problem still unsolved. In foreign affairs, the most important questions to-day, according to a recent statement of our own chief magistrate, center about the Pacific Ocean—an ocean whose coasts are inhabited, for the most part, by nations of a more primitive culture than our own.

All the peoples of the West are in one way or another deeply concerned in the present condition and the gradual advance of relatively undeveloped races. Yet it is hardly too much to say that up to the present there has been no widespread and serious effort to understand the world-wide race problem, and to determine the attitude which those who are advanced should maintain towards those who are backward. The most divergent and contradictory views are held in regard to nearly every aspect of the question. There are those, on the one hand, who believe that every backward people, whether in China, India, Korea or the Congo, should be governed permanently by some stronger power; on the other hand, there are those who believe that every race should be left entirely to itself, without aid or suggestion, so that it may most perfectly develop its own racial individuality.

It is to provide a means for the discussion of these problems, by those who really have the interests of the native

peoples at heart, as well as for a presentation of the facts bearing upon racial development, whether aided or unaided, that Clark University has founded this JOURNAL. It will devote much of its space to the general subject of the control of dependencies, a field in which there has already taken place a profound change of feeling and belief. The old conception, once universally held, that dependencies might legitimately be exploited for the benefit of the controlling state—an idea which still dominates the colonial policy of such governments as Russia—has been very generally superseded by the idea of “the white man’s burden,” a burden, which England seems to believe she is carrying in India, of ruling a land permanently in its own best interests, though against its wishes. This policy, in turn, is now giving place to that recently introduced by the United States in the Philippine Islands—the policy of controlling a backward people only so long as it may be necessary to train them to carry on successfully an efficient government.

But the state which has taken for its aim the rapid development of a dependency is by no means freed from problems. Such experienced colonizers as the Dutch and the English maintain that it is primarily through economic improvement—the building of roads, bridges and railways—that a community is made to advance; and they have carried out this idea in their administration of Java, India and Egypt. The United States, on the contrary, insists that it is primarily by means of education—school and political—that a backward people is enabled to make its best progress.

What should be the aim of this race education, however, is not so clear. Some say that it is the acquisition of Western civilization, and claim that all races, if they advance at all, must journey along the same great highway over which Western peoples have already passed—that even China, the most advanced of the so-called backward states, is now merely emerging from the scholastic age, which Europe reached in the twelfth century. Others insist that there are fundamental differences between the civilization of one race and that of another; and, accordingly, propose to develop first the best of the native customs, institutions and

ideals, and then upon this foundation add whatever may be needed of Western culture. Even in race education along religious lines—the work of Christian missions—there is no agreement as to the definite purpose to be accomplished. The century-long idea that the Christian Church, just as it exists in Europe and America, is to be transplanted without change to the soil of Asia and Africa, is now being abandoned. There are writers, as well as missionary boards, who state that if Christianity is to be the real faith of other continents, it must be so taught that the essence of the religion will become a vital part of the native culture, and not be regarded as merely a foreign creed.

These are some of the broader problems to be discussed; they outline, too, the general field which the JOURNAL aims to cover. Among the more definite topics will be: studies of the character of the colonial administration of different nations, and a comparison of the methods used to advance backward peoples, such as schools, the civil service, economic and industrial improvements. The work of Christian missions—their aim and methods of evangelization and of instruction—will be especially scrutinized. The problems of eugenics will be emphasized, for the record of social evolution shows clearly the immense importance of sound stock in the survival of races and nations. Superior vitality may make the backward races of today the world leaders tomorrow. Other subjects presented will relate to race prejudice, race assimilation, race intermarriage; and to the present or latent capacity of native peoples in art, literature, industry and government. The JOURNAL, in short, will be open to all that pertains to the condition of backward races; it stands only for that which will promote their best development.

We sincerely believe that there is a place for such a JOURNAL; and this belief is strengthened by the enthusiastic support which it has already received from those who have become its contributing editors. We trust that the JOURNAL OF RACE DEVELOPMENT may aid, in some degree, at least, in so educating public opinion, that it shall secure for the peoples of weaker civilizations a treatment marked by continually greater justice and wisdom and sympathy.

## THE POINT OF VIEW TOWARD PRIMITIVE RACES

*By G. Stanley Hall, President of Clark University*

From the standpoint of evolution the differences between savage and civilized man are very slight indeed compared with those between the average aborigines and the remote anthropoid ancestors from which man sprang. Leading anthropologists like Franz Boas to-day regard the superiority of civilized over uncivilized man as far less than we have been wont to think it, and as perhaps offset by still greater disadvantages. The best primitive races have acute senses, retentive and even very capacious memories, splendid bodies, sometimes fit for an artist's model, great powers in enduring hunger, cold and fatigue; they often have a large fund of folklore, myth, and tradition; each individual understands more or less of the complex tribal customs, has more or less proficiency not only in the arts of war but a number of those of peace; and if unspoiled by contact with so-called higher races, are usually frank, good-natured, and many of them honest and virtuous. Indeed it would be possible to-day without any Rousseau-like idealization of savagery, to compose from the life of many tribes a curriculum of conduct, regimen and culture that would constitute a splendid environment for any boy at the gang age. Now a tribe, stirp or race of mankind is the most precious product of all the long travail of evolution, if only it is ascendant and not decadent, for then it always contains possibilities of historic development along new lines. It is hard to draw the larger lessons of history. Who in the days of the glory of Rome would have dreamed of a time when the Teutons, Gauls and Angles would have ruled Europe centuries after the last man who revered Jove, once father of gods and men, was dead? How different would have been the course of of events had Rome exacted from her colonies such pro-



tracted taxation as the English have enforced for one hundred and fifty years in India or such partial enslavement as Belgium has enforced in the vast basin of the Congo! How fortunate, to turn to a more modern instance, that in 1840 the powers could not agree upon the terms of partitioning Japan!

In fact, from prehistoric times, man has been the great exterminator. Very long is the list of the animal species that he has swept off the face of the earth. Unique races of mankind too like Boethuks and Tasmanians have been exterminated and left not even an Ossian to bemoan their fate. Every new advantage in the way of weapons or organization is too prone to be turned against those next lower along these lines of development. So primitive and so strong is this instinct that many believe that it accounts at least in part for the fact of the missing link, and that man has come now to seem so unique and pre-eminent because he has thrown down and destroyed the ladder up which he climbed through the long early stages of his development. Modern colonial policies tend by many motives to exploit inferior or subordinate races for their own benefit, often treating primitives and their lands as preserves to be administered for their own gain. What more unpardonable sin can aborigines commit than to be discovered living on territory containing valuable resources! The time has now, in our judgment, fully come when not merely philanthropy but science and even a broadly based economy should teach us that primitives have certain inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that ruthless interference with customs that have worked well for indigenous races should cease.

Our own country, that has so lately become a competitor in the struggle that culminated perhaps in the later nineties of the last century to parcel out among the leading nations all the remnants of the unappropriated territory of the world ought to lead in this more humane and larger policy. Our record, alas, in dealing with the Indians and the Negroes is not, however, very reassuring. But we have made great progress since emancipation days and the Freedman's

Bureau and its carpet-baggers in our efforts to develop the Negro,—despite the innumerable modes of extortion and misrepresentation that private greed is still allowed to practice upon him in many parts of our land. We ought to have in Washington an African Bureau wherein should be presented in the form of exhibits and literature the memorials and the best things that the African has achieved in the past and is accomplishing in the present. We should strive to make representative colored men self-respecting, give them a just measure of pride in their race, and give their leaders motivation in studying its history not only in this country but in their fatherland, teach them, to understand the magnificent emotional endowments nature has given them that has kept their spirits more or less buoyant under infinite hardships, teach them to love their rich and unique folklore, to be proud of and to develop it,—in a word, to study and bring out the best that is in their blood, and to migrate surely, if ever so slowly, the handicap of race prejudice, for these things alone can give the black man true freedom. As to the Indian, here, too, the situation is most unique. Few races have been more carefully studied and the Bureau of Ethnology has a wonderful record in the expense and talent that have been devoted to preserving the songs, traditions, religion, social and other customs of the red man. All this knowledge, however, has remained unutilized by the Indian Bureau, which deals with the red man in all practical matters. It is still trying to make a pinch-back white man instead of a noble Indian. Even at Hampton and Carlisle, the last thing taught the Indian youths and maidens who are segregated, voluntarily or by constraint, from their people, is to know or respect the best things in their own history, culture or industries. We have not even had the wit to see that native basket-making, pottery, work with beads and skins are germs of art, that these noblest of all the representatives of the Stone Age contain in themselves the promise and potency of development from within; and many are the Indian arts, either lost or decaying which have in them elements of unique culture value for the red man himself and

for us. Methods of development from within should every where take precedence over those of foisting an alien and often unwilling culture upon those who have languished under its influence because they were not ripe for it.

This is not ignoring the fact that primitives need and often want also the very best we can teach them; but they must conserve, cherish and develop all the best things *they* have. Educationally this country has in late years seen a great light: the Hull house has endeavored to conserve the household arts and home industries that immigrants knew but tend to forget upon our shores. The Irish grandmother who weaves linen, the Hungarians who do fine and unique embroidery or make lace which their families had made for centuries, acquire self-respect when they do this to teach us and to make products that will sell; and they both love their own people and us better and are more respected by their own grandchildren if all they know and can do is not swept into oblivion when they land here. The same results are seen in the revival of the various national dances and pageants, festivals and other customs and in the attempts to revive even the old Gallic language. Upon the same principle, and with the same beneficent results, are the efforts being made by Joumet in Uganda to educate the native Africans by the following method: In the lower grades for from four to six years, the children are taught little or nothing save their own tongue, folklore, customs, traditions, communal duties, etc. They are often very complex and very beneficent. The ideal is to first make them good Kaffirs, and not cheap pinch-back imitation white men. In the later grades for those who show aptitude to go on as a kind of secondary course, the English language, customs, and the rudiments of science are taught as a kind of higher dispensation for the few fit. It is perhaps too soon to pronounce a final judgment upon this particular experiment; but there can be no doubt of the fundamental soundness of the principles upon which it is based. Years ago Lindner tried the interesting experiment in the Punjab of founding schools of indigenous cul-

ture where the old Pundits, who had withdrawn in dignity and with dismay from English influences, were invited to tell to the rising generation the stories of their own classics and to revive and transmit a helpful interest in their own culture. His voluminous blue book report is one of the most interesting of all educational documents. Unfortunately, however, his method was a little too early and did not commend itself to the East India Company, so that its effects were largely obliterated. Even in Mr. Duncans' remarkable work with the Metacotla Indians, some of these ideals were embodied. I do not know of a single effort that has ever been made to acquaint the native Indian with the rich and fascinating contents, *e.g.*, of the reports of the Ethnological Bureau, wherein his own antiquities are preserved and revered by scholars of an alien race.

The same pedagogical method is applicable to missions, revolutionary as it may seem to some. The work of the Musée Guimet in Paris attempts to acquaint students who are to live in lands where Buddhism, Confucianism, Mohammedism, and other great religions prevail, with the deepest and best that is in these faiths, so that they may be both intelligent and sympathetic toward them. Most of these faiths in most lands, like all religions, have yielded to the tendency, inevitable in this field, to decay; but some are bold enough often to say that the first task of the missionary of the future will be to make men good Buddhists, Confucianists, and even fetich-worshippers or pagans generally, and that only when a veritable renaissance of their inherited beliefs and cults has been achieved will they be ripe for a religion that may be condensed into the simple phrase, "Love and serve God and man." In his treatment of the Hebrew Scriptures and rites, Jesus gave the world the most splendid of all illustrations of how to make an ancient and decadent faith and cult live again and achieve a new dispensation which was only the psychological unfoldment of the forces that lay concealed and hidden in it. The problem of the missionary of the future will be to first become the scholar and apostle of the faith of the people

among whom he lives. He should aim at the revival of all that is best in it, if possible raise up a generation of native reformers and propagandists of it, and then only, when this has been done, his endeavor should be to make it blossom into what is surely the ultimate religion of all mankind—that of love and service. The new dispensations thus evoked will be different in detail, perhaps in some major features, from current interpretations of Christianity. This must be expected. No one in recent years has appealed more strongly to this principle than the late Cuthbert Hall in his remarkable lecture to learned Hindus in which he invoked them to reanimate their own faith which, he felt certain would result in the development of a new and distinctly Oriental type of Christianity which the world has not yet seen. Religion is far vaster than any single interpretation of it; and all even its baser manifestations, are based upon psychological principles which, when rightly treated, have great possibilities for enlarging our views of what religion is, means and can do, among races where it is still the main theme of education. The time has come when the abrupt transformation sought by earlier missionary endeavors must be laid aside, and when we must realize that they have accomplished in slight degree what was expected of them. We have a great deal to learn from certain of the great Catholic lines of endeavor in this field.

The general lesson which civilized white men need to learn is a very hard one in this day of mechanical invention, wholesale productivity and commercial expansion; yet, glorious as these things are, they do not begin to represent all the possibilities of the race. We are not the *beati possidentes*. It is possible that already certain tendencies toward decay are manifest. The world has lately been rather startled to realize that, without a single exception, the great nations of Europe and this country show a marked decline in the rate of fertility. There could be no better evidence than this that something is wrong. The test of domestication in animals is whether captivity can be so constituted that they will breed well under its conditions. Civiliza-

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tion is man's attempt to domesticate himself; and failure in this involves failure in all. The demoralization that has begun with the rapid urbanization of the world, the intense and strenuous life of competition, the fact that with all our hygienic endeavors, we have not yet been able to lower by a single point the mortality of infants during the first year of life, make problems which demand a larger statesmanship than the world has yet evolved to deal with it adequately. Whether the nations that now rule the world will be able to indefinitely wield the accumulated resources of civilization is by no means established. It may be that some stocks now obscure may a few centuries hence take up the torch that falls from our hand and develop other culture types very distinct from ours; and that to them and not to us will be appointed the task of ushering in the kingdom of the superman. This perhaps will serve to roughly indicate the general attitude from which the editors of this JOURNAL regard the duties of the higher to the so-called lower races.

## RECENT ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES IN CHINA

*By Professor F. W. Williams, Yale University*

The humiliation of punishment received at the hands of foreigners in the year of débacle, 1900, aroused the Chinese government to issue an edict in 1901 calling for the opinions of the higher officials upon the subject of administrative changes desirable in the crisis. The replies received resulted in two measures adopted in that year, the substitution of a Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the *Wai-wu Pu*, in place of the old and discredited *Tsung-li Yamên*, and the creation of a Bureau of Political Affairs for the purpose of considering all propositions for political reforms. Capable men were also sent to Japan to study and report upon all that had been achieved there in the alteration of her ancient institutions. Reforms looking toward a new scheme of national education at this time were happily facilitated by the closing of the triennial examination at Peking and in the three northern provinces as a punitive measure in the treaties exacted by foreigners. Left for a time without their accustomed machinery for passing scholars into the group of eligibles for office, the Chinese authorities could afford, without meeting the opposition of the old scholarly class, to arrange for the introduction into the curriculum of future candidates for civil-service examinations the scientific studies from the Occident. A great crop of schools sprang up all over the Empire and in a few years the Government found itself strong enough to abolish forever the ancient system of classical examinations for office. This advance in opinion was followed in 1905 by the creation of a commission to study the governments of the chief powers of the Western world. Its report brought about the promise of a constitution for China in August, 1906.

This year marks an epoch in the history of China. In it the old machinery, taken over wholesale from the Mings at the time of the Manchu conquest, was reorganized and the ancient Six Boards of Government with Chinese and Manchu Presidents in duplicate were remodeled, without, however, reducing the new boards to a really logical series or creating a cabinet through which they might report as a unit to the Emperor. As reconstructed, they comprise eighteen departments, of which eleven constitute proper Ministries. They are those of Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, Civil Appointments, Finance, Rites, Justice, Agriculture-Works-Commerce, Colonies, Army, Education and Communications, to to which a Ministry of the Navy has recently been added. Though these changes were important and promising it need not be thought that they effectually altered the course of Chinese, thought the conflict of parties or the influence of corruption in controlling the politics of the Empire; yet something, undoubtedly, was begun which will go on.

By the beginning of the year 1908, the two most prominent Viceroys, Chang Chi-tung and Yuan Shi-kai had been relieved of their governments and associated with Prince Chun the Emperor's brother and now Regent of the Empire, as Grand Councillors to the Throne. Their labors resulted in the publication of a general scheme for successive reforms, to be undertaken during nine years, and the outlines of a constitution, together with certain election laws and a National Diet, to be established in 1917. Unfortunately, within three months from the date of this epoch-making announcement the Emperor and Empress Dowager were both dead, and ere the close of another year Yuan had been dismissed from the service of the throne, Chang was dead, and Tuan Fang, the leading progressive Manchu Viceroy, had been cashiered. The Regent, however, considers himself personally committed to the furtherance of the reform measures with which he has been so closely identified, and the promise of a serious prosecution of the work is sufficiently bright to warrant an examination of the program thus far arranged.

The plan as published resembles in general a similar pro-



nunciamento with the promise of a constitution issued in Japan in 1889. First comes a consideration of the place of the Sovereign: He is declared to be sacred and inviolable, vested with all the rights of State and control, and creating of his own will certain bodies to assist him in this rule. These clauses are copied from the Japanese constitution. Subjects of the Emperor are obliged to observe the law, pay taxes and serve in the army when required, but they may hold office, stand for election, enjoy liberty of speech and freedom from arrest, except under process of law, and keep their property inviolable unless fairly condemned to lose it. The National Diet, when assembled, shall have two houses. Its constitution is not yet fully determined, but while the Throne seems to reserve in all cases the right of absolute veto over its acts, the annual budget will require its consent and it will be allowed to discuss every measure affecting the whole Empire as well as impeach high officials, though it may not interfere with the imperial prerogative of appointment and dismissal.

Before this body is convened and the franchise regulated successive changes are arranged for the intervening years through 1916. These contemplate a general census by 1914, a gradual extension of the present educational system, especially increasing the number of primary schools, the publication of necessary text-books, the establishment of an Imperial University and of a Peers' School at Peking. More important than these are the laws covering changes in local government, a national police or gendarmerie and the relegation of all criminal and legal matters—at present a provincial concern—to a national Department of Justice, together with the preparation of a code and new laws of procedure and of commerce. Upon the success of his fundamental reconstruction of the Satrap system of territorial government the future of China must depend. As to finance, an edict contemplating an entire reorganization has already been published. National accounts and a system of Imperial taxation are provided for, and a Board of Audit or Finance is to be placed in control. The gold standard is to be introduced by successive steps, the old distinction between

Manchu and Chinese abolished, two million Manchu Bannerman and their families incorporated in the general population, and a national army and navy created to replace the provincial levies—a necessary change, for the Manchus in China Proper may have been a burden upon the Empire and the provincial armies practically useless as a support to the Throne.

Finally, the program provides for Provincial Assemblies, the first sessions of which were held last fall, and a Provisional Parliament to be assembled in the capital next October and meet annually until replaced by the Diet of the Empire in 1917. The provinces are divided into districts called *chen* and *hsiang*, in each of which local bodies shall be elected for two years to discuss matters of agriculture, trade, education, public health, the poor and the like, their acts being carried out by a small executive committee in every commune. They replace the ancient semi-moral and punitive powers of the Village headsmen, whose functions are for the most part transferred to higher officials and determined by courts of law. Above them come the *Tsz-ichu*, or Provincial Parliaments, containing from thirty to one hundred and forty members according to the size and importance of the province, twenty-two in number, meeting annually, a third of the members going out each year. The franchise is restricted to males over twenty-five years old who have been officials or possess a literary degree or secondary education, or who own property worth more than \$5,000. The Parliament has but one chamber and considers financial and legal matters pertaining to the province, petitions and propositions from citizens, disputes between self-governing bodies and inquiries from the Governor. It also takes up illegal acts of officials and in case the Governor refuses to carry out its resolutions the case is referred to the Provisional Parliament. Various opinions have been reported as to the value in practice of the initial sessions of these Provincial assemblies. European observers seem to be doubtful of their promise, but the Japanese, mindful of some unpleasant features which marked the beginning of representative government in their own country, appear to take a favorable

view. It is a good sign that the elections passed off without disturbance or corruption, and that in some of them matters of importance were debated with considerable ability and signs of careful preparation.

The Provisional Parliament, called *Tsz-cheng Yuan*, designed to prepare the way for the Diet, will consist of two hundred members in one chamber, half of them chosen by the Provincial Governors from 200 members of the Provincial Parliaments nominated by these bodies, the other half appointed by the Emperor from the Imperial Clan, hereditary nobles, tributary chiefs, Government officials of certain ranks, men of wealth and learned scholars. This temporary body will be of some importance in training men from all over the country in methods of parliamentary government. It will discuss only matters of Imperial importance and submit to the Throne disputes between provinces and between the Governors and their legislatures. All questions involving the laws of the Empire or the Imperial Clan are excepted from discussion, but if this Parliament and any high officer should disagree in matters of privilege or because of violations of the law, it may by a two-thirds vote submit the dispute with an expression of its opinion to the Throne. It will be noted that the framers of all this political machinery reserve the real authority in the hands of the sovereign as in past ages. Without any supreme judiciary, a responsible ministry, or cohesion between different departments of Government or provincial administrations, the whole political life of China is made to depend upon the will of one individual. Obviously the Manchu Monarch does not propose voluntarily to establish in power his own judge and executioner. Yet we need not condemn him without consideration of the situation in which the Empire is now placed. It needs, during the present generation, a strong and wise ruler rather than full political liberty and representative institutions. It has watched Japan prosper under the difficult process of transition to Western methods of rule, while, with far greater resources, China has in the same period narrowly escaped political extinction. The chief reason for this difference has been because Japan was well

## MISSION PEDAGOGY.

*By G. Stanley Hall, LL.D., President of Clark University.*

The very purest, highest and perhaps strongest manifestation of the teaching instinct is found in missionary work. He who devotes his work with every kind of personal sacrifice to the propagation of a religion among those who know it not believes his teaching to be of supreme importance and burns with zeal to impart it. He feels that he has a priceless treasure which his hearers vitally need. The positive potential, or the pressure in his own soul, to impart to the negative potential, or the need and hunger, conscious or unconscious, in the soul of his hearers as he sees it, makes a situation not unlike that which drew our Lord to earth. The ideal missionary must have rare power of quick, sympathetic insight into souls of a very different grade of culture and ethnic type from his own, a quick sagacity as to things to avoid, a fervor of belief uncooled by doubt, infinite plasticity to become all things to all men and a readiness to sacrifice his life on the altar of his cause at any time, if need be. With all defects, missionary effort has rarely ever lacked the one essential thing, viz., zeal. Thus it does not lapse to wooden routine and is rarely engaged in by those who are not interested in the work, but engage in it for a mere livelihood. Yet today it groans and travails in labor for a new dispensation. It needs a larger light and more comparative perspective and radical reconstruction, indeed, nothing less than a new soul.

Many religions have no mission features. They have been tribal or national and were evolved by the stirp that holds to them and too exactly fitted to its own needs to ever spread to alien races. Such religions are tribal palladia. Zoroastrianism never spread in this way, while Mohammedanism, on the other hand, was not taught, but forced upon subject

people. Other races have adopted the religion of their conquerors gradually because they felt their own gods discredited. Often again, victors cherish rancors against the religion of their victims and many devils are gods degraded or ex-gods, while conversely, sometimes the conquered give their faith to the conquerors. Buddhism was the first great missionary religion, although its propagation only began 300 years after Buddha's death, under the Emperor Osaka. Thus it spread to Japan where Shinto monks became teachers; temples schools; art and folklore were re-interpreted on a higher plane.

Jesus was the great expounder of the universalistic tendencies of Judaism which he sought to free from all local and temporal limitations, realizing vastly more than any of his followers that to be diffused by peaceful and natural methods, a religion must be more or less transformed. Paul, addressing chiefly the Gentiles, proclaimed salvation to be by faith rather than works. The spread of Jesusism owes more to this greatest of missionaries than to any other individual. Not only was he transformed, but he became all things to all men. Perhaps he idealizes Jesus all the more because he had never seen him. He certainly took great liberties with the person and sayings of his master. Who shall say, if another great modern missionary genius would pursue his methods, we might not have a new and a very different dispensation of Christianity in the East? Some have said that if Paul were not in the Canon, but if we would regard it as what an able, earnest man could do in planting religion among alien nations, his influence would really have been greater than it is. We certainly need today a great master fortified with modern learning, charged with the positive inspiration for original reconstruction and able to restate Christianity in a way to fit the occidental cultivated mind as Paul adjusted it to the leaders of the Greek cities. The church ought to believe that other Pauls are still possible and that they may one day arrive and free the Christian world from the the bond of dogma and wont and extend its quintessential requirements of loving and serving God and man to the uttermost bounds of the earth. Until this is done, despite all

our present agencies, Christianity will remain a geographical expression. The opening of the East thus constitutes a new and unprecedented call which gives the church an opportunity never open to it before. Will this call of the Divine Pedagogue, as the Holy Spirit used to be called, be now heeded?

Christianity owes many of its best elements to the interpretation on a higher plane of pre-existing religious ideas, even baptism, the Eucharist, and the doctrines and methods of salvation, the *piacular* sacrifice not excepted.<sup>1</sup> It was by using rites and ideas that were established and commonly understood, by grafting onto the great mysteries of all the countries about the eastern Mediterranean, that the message of our Lord was accepted. No religion is effective without sacraments, and the religious instinct needs and indeed, can understand, little but mysteries. Often faith sees sacraments where none exist. So in the field of thought, Greek philosophy, as Hatch has shown, had very much to do in shaping Christian doctrine. Philo wrought out the doctrine of the logos as heavenly manna, a cloud in the wilderness, convictor of sin, etc., before the New Testament. While some of the church fathers rejected philosophy, many had to learn it for apologetics and were themselves profoundly moulded by it, so that some regarded Plato *e.g.*, as inspired, and urged that he had borrowed from the Old Testament, and that other Greeks before Jesus had anticipated him and were saved. All know the profound influence of Mithraism, Epicureanism and Stoicism in preparing the way for Christianity and in developing a sense of the great corruption which prevailed and of man's higher destiny. Thus Christianity is the great adapter and adopter, and its merits consist in interpreting and revealing ever higher meanings.

The Teutonic faith was, perhaps, the greatest of all factors for centuries in the diffusion and deepening of Christianity. From the Eddas on, that faith was chiefly concerned with

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. J. A. Magni, The ethnological background of the Eucharist, *The American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education*, March, 1910. Vol. 4, No. 1-2, pp. 1-47.

the struggles between good and evil principles, pre-formed by the relations of day and night, summer and winter. The former gave, the latter destroyed life. There was constant warfare from the vegetable world up, and the only solution will be a new dispensation and a great judge by whom each will be given its deserts. Balder was the purest and fairest, in whose presence nothing bad could exist, but he was doomed and even Odin could not save him, although he was to ultimately rule over a new world in which there was no death. To avert his murder, everything was pledged not to hurt him save the mistletoe, which, after the method of myth, was the arrow with which Hoder pierced his heart. Then the world was full of evil. The death queen consented to release him only if all things should weep, and so they did save one. Then came the wars with Loki and the giants and even Odin is vanquished and evil reigns in Asgard. Nevertheless, hope survives of a new heaven and a new earth when Balder shall come again from death. This was the psychic matrix which Christianity found in the Germans, comparable with the Messianic hopes of the Jews, and to it Christianity came as a fulfilment. Balder became Christ, and Hoder Judas, as among the Franks Siegfried became Saint George, and among the Russians the fire-god Perun, driving the chariot of the sun, became Elijah, Apollo, Saint Belius, and Lodo, the Russian Venus, the Virgin. Thus gods and goddesses were supplanted or changed into saints and martyrs and this process of substitutions and transformation went on. The sacred springs of the Picts were blessed by Saint Columba. If pagan temples were destroyed, churches were built on their sites, and eclipsed them in beauty and embodied many of their features. The old feasts were reconstructed. The solstice was celebrated as yuletide, the nival equinox became Easter in the new calendar. Pagan rites were full of symbols that needed interpretation and their myths were allegories. These faiths were vital and were given still more vigor by the new Christian interpretations, helped out by pictures and statuary. Jesus in his parables was the great story-teller. The Old Testament, particularly, was transformed as an allegory, and the apocryphal literature

is full of it. Thus the church sublimated the methods of the barbarians and their folklore was worked over into Christian legends. The Christian mind from Sigmund to Dante and the "Pilgrim's Progress" was most impressed by this method; so the Holy Grail reinterprets the very core of Teutonic myth, which spiritualized the martial temperament, feudalism and chivalry, which was now turned against sin. None but the pure could see the Grail or sit upon the seat perilous. The entire quest of this vessel is the mythopoeic equivalent of the Balder conquest. Only the Grail can cure the king's fatal wound. There is an intense longing for the day of release. Parsifal and Sir Galahad represent virtue and bring the boon of salvation. The latter rescues the hero from the attack of two knights called Pride and Covetousness because he did not confess, and in the former the beautiful heroine represents the dalliance of the church with sin, with safety only in the cross. The German soul must have its pathos and an emotional baptism.

So in Peru, the Catholics rededicated the pagan temples to Saint Francis and showed a more splendid ritual so that it was easy to pass from the feasts and festivals of one to those of the other. In Mexico, the pagan temples were often used, only substituting images of the Virgin and of the Saviour on the altars in place of idols. The cross, which was worshipped as an emblem of rain, became a sign of salvation. So in Formosa, as Mackay has shown, filial piety due to ancestor worship has been turned to splendid and tactful account. The *Karens* have legends easily thus convertible and in South Africa the folk tales are occasionally made into apparatus for moral and religious training. But as Stoutemyer says, "as compared with the wonderful re-interpretation which Christian thought wrought in the Teutonic folklore, the efforts of modern missions have little to show, and perhaps we must now wait till the native soul of the East shall give us a new interpretation of Christianity." Aryan methods are more or less similar in other traits, as comparative mythology shows, and Christianity in all these countries is to an extent hitherto unexpected only the idealization of pre-existing and more indigenous material. A



folk's soul cannot be easily transformed, nor its ancient content transmuted into something different. The world is full of persistencies for religion is rooted in racial heritage, and every new religion must appear to be a re-interpretation on a higher plane of the old one. If we use theological terms, we must say that God is in all faiths. The religion of the Teutons, like that of the Jews, was fulfilled in Jesus, whose religion must always supplement rather than supplant the native faith to bring true redemption and regeneration. It must fulfil and not destroy. They are fragmentary and need to be supplemented.

The Islamic propaganda always has and will be a marvel from its very start. It welded the scattered Arabian tribes into an invincible army, impassioned for Allah. For 110 years, until the western wing was hurled back by Martel, its growth was unprecedented. Later, after the conquest of Constantinople, in 1453, the West was again in danger. Its conquest was by the sword, but that, we must not forget, was wielded by an impetuous faith that few religions have ever instilled into the souls of men. To be sure, the Byzantine church was corrupt, superstitious, and oppressive. It was hard to fill even the bishoprics in North Africa. Great Arabs not only absorbed but extended Western learning, especially in mathematics, astronomy, medicine and philosophy, and made a splendid period for their faith, to which the young Turks are now harking back and pointing to with pride as showing what their faith can do. Proselyting by the sword penetrated far East. Bengal, for instance, which had no religion, was easily delivered by Islam from "caste, contempt and Hebrew tyranny." Mohammedans know how to use all political and social methods. In China, for instance, its emissaries are merchants who settle, marry natives, wear the queue, adopt Chinese customs, and do all expected from officers of the government. In the Malay Archipelago and Philippines they use the language and customs of the natives, even purchase slaves to add to their influence, set examples of industry, and often mask zeal for their religion under business enterprise and lust of gold. In Sumatra they accommodated by allowing natives to worship the spirit of their

ancestors as saints already in Islam, saying that their long dead forbears now desired them to become Moslem. The missionaries to the Kabils in North Africa went in rags, in small groups, lived in caves like monks, and slowly won their way by their knowledge of medicine and industries and led up to the teaching of their religion without naming it. Thus North Africa, which had been a stronghold of Christianity since Augustine, was Mohammedanized. Arabian merchants so conform that they are not considered strangers. They were always self-supporting, were not known as missionaries, had no supervision, and while some of them drove an active business in order to live, they "produced the impression that they were not preachers but traders, while in fact they were not traders but preachers." They often brought weapons and sold them to potent chiefs who impressed Islam, and this rendered them superior to their enemies who used the old weapon. A potent missionary method is the pilgrimage to Mecca, which gives great prestige and which is told of for a life-time afterwards. Besides these unorganized there are also organized modes and specifically missionary sects, one of which originated in Persia in the eighth century, which wrought miracles for the superstitious, won the devout by piety and the mystics by revealing hidden meanings. To the Jew they declared that their Messiah was coming and to the Christian that the Holy Ghost was about to reign, and to all preached the coming of Allah, the Great Deliverer. Among oppressed people, the missionaries dwell upon the cruelty of their conquerors; in working among the Jews, they show scant respect for Christians and Moslems, preaching only that Allah is the Messiah. In working with the Christians, they dwell upon the obstinacy of the Jews and the ignorance of the Islam and profess reverence for the chief articles of the Christian creed, cautiously intimating, when the time comes, that a few things have been misunderstood or that Ali was the true paraclete. In India he is the promised tenth Avatar of Vishnu, who was to come from the West. In West Africa are two monastic orders, one of which has been active since the fifteenth century, but very active in isolated regions during the last.

These emissaries go as traders, scribes, readers, venders of amulets, schoolmasters, and when they have a little band of converts organize them into a centre. Their methods are all peaceful. Most of the teachers of the Soudan are of this sect. The other was founded in the eighteenth century in Algeria and uses the sword only in extremity. There are sects for the purification of Islam from its own errors and others to free it from the dominion of infidels. The latter has developed pronounced hostility to the Kafirs and after a universal holy war under a great leader, a purified Islam will be re-established throughout the world. Each adherent vows to abstain from luxuries, wine and vice. They often have a secret code. Many a soldier has enlisted solely from a missionary motive (one writer thinks 75 per cent have enlisted from a religious motive).

From the eleventh century the Crusades were for a long time the chief missionary endeavor, and despite the vast losses, little was accomplished in converting Mohammedans. Lull made an epoch-making effort to convert Islam to Christian philosophy and theology and sought to use the geography and language of the Saracens. He anticipated Loyola and Duff in advocating schools to teach Saracen language and literature to fit missionaries to meet Islam on its own grounds. And this led to chairs of Oriental literature in Paris and Oxford and Salamanca in 1411. Lull even proposed a parliament of religions for open discussion with Islam. The Inquisition, which "held Europe in a theological quarantine," profoundly influenced mission work, for it made infidelity a crime punishable in this world as well as in the next, and the heathen were religious waifs if not criminals.

As the sword was successful in evil causes, why not in a good one, when it was allied with the cross? In Mexico and Peru, conversion and conquest, monk and soldier, went hand in hand. After forced conversion, the Aztec temples were consecrated to Christian worship. Native images were deposed for those of the Virgin and the Infant Jesus. The natives conceived that their gods were vanquished and were impressed by the majestic ceremonies. Doubtless the con-

querors sincerely felt that, violent though the means they used, eternal blessing was conferred.

Xavier was first and greatest of all the Jesuit missionaries. Despite his scholarship and enthusiasm, he never himself learned the languages of the people for whom he wrought, but had interpreters and translators. He gathered boys to the sound of the bell on the street, taught them prayers and rituals, twice a day, and baptized all who believed, sometimes cities in a day. The government appointed overseers to instruct the people in the articles of faith. Sometimes the people were oppressed by Mohammedans. The Portuguese arms were invoked by others against enemies and baptism was the price or the reward. Xavier advocated that viceroys should be constrained by fear to make converts, and they were sometimes rewarded conversions by government offices. Many helpers were sent, often whole regions were converted, and when the mission army moved, the Brahmins easily reconverted their people and were therefore visited with condign punishment.

De Nobili was Xavier's greatest successor. Evangelization had become part of the government policy. He realized that he must not assail the caste system and so withdrew from all contact with his country and slowly made himself an orthodox Brahmin, mastering the native language and Sanskrit and studying profoundly. He conformed to all native customs and rites, doctrines and penances, claiming to be a Brahmin. Although his lineage was challenged, he hid all traces of it and made his debut with mystery, receiving only visitors of highest rank, and discussing philosophical questions. He required no convert to abandon the old form or break caste but re-interpreted their symbolic customs. He was very successful and found the spiritual law embodied in the fourth and lost Veda, which he claimed to bring, which was purely spiritual. This new or new-old Veda, he asserted, had been forgotten, and he would restore it as containing the essentials of Christianity. The very Brahmins confessed that they had lost this spiritual law which he had come from a remote country to proclaim.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> T. W. M. Marshall, *Christian Missions*, N. Y., Kenedy, vol. 1, p. 221.

Thus his method was not exoteric like Xavier's, but esoteric. He was not, as he claimed to be, a Brahmin from Rome, but was of noble birth there. The severest criticism made against him is his defense of caste and many think that here his conformity went too far.

The first great propaganda of Christianity in China was by the great mathematician and scientist, Ricci, who, despite the hatred of foreigners, was welcomed and admired for his instruments and his knowledge. He tolerated everything tolerable, thought the Chinese god identical with that of Christianity, and ancestor worship with the masses for the dead and the adoration of saints. He did no open mission work but only insinuated those doctrines not opposed to the Chinese belief. He went as a philosopher rather than as a priest and as a literary man rather than as a preacher. Working his way to Peking, he bribed and importuned his way among officials by means of his instruments and skill and finally gained audience with the emperor and an appointment with pay and the privilege of opening a college. Here his lectures were unobjectionable, although he did instill some elements of Christianity. He attracted the literati, clothed Christ in an alluring garb, reconstructed the calendar, perfected a map of the world, published works on science and morals, and evolved a catechism. Although he did build a number of churches, his work was more political and he was regarded not as an emissary of another religion, but as a great literary man from the West. He thus became indispensable to his government and spread the faith.

Adam Schall succeeded him. He was an astronomer and musician, set the psalms to music, and when insurrection threatened, built a foundry and cast heavy field guns, became the tutor of the emperor, was president of the mathematical tribunal. Verbiest followed his methods and obtained great success, was an astronomer who could use astrology, a mathematician who could make guns; but astronomy was the great method. Rival orders were shocked when they found that the Jesuits had been so perilously near rites like heathen idolatries and the Franciscans and Dominicans bitterly condemned these methods. They, however, succeeded

in placing the Christian faith in disrepute and were persecuted, else China might have to-day been Christian. Although there was great accommodation and some deception, this was absolutely necessary in China at this time.

Another brilliant mission chapter of the Spanish Jesuits was in Paraguay, where they went beyond the armies and up to 1602 travelled from tribe to tribe and induced the Indians to take settled abodes. There was great oppression and enslavement by the Spanish and so the Jesuits sought to make a Christian state and to bring a territory of which they alone knew the riches into subjection to the church and to Spain. They persuaded the Indians to reside in villages. This they did the more readily because in union they could defend themselves against the oppression of the Spanish government. Some thirty of these settlements were organized under a superior, with a grade of subordinates. The towns thus built were a square, with church and storehouse at one end and the Indians on the sides. The churches were magnificent. Here the fathers introduced various handicrafts, agriculture and stock raising, cotton, tanning, coopers, cordage, bed and cart making, etc., with arms, powder, musical instruments, painting, and with so much weaving and spinning per week for the women. The natural indolence of the people was extreme. So each morning they were marshalled with great pomp and music to go in procession to the fields at sunrise, with the saint borne aloft and with shrines at intervals, where they prayed and sang. The group grew smaller as individuals dropped off to work, until priests and acolytes returned alone. Thus, too, they returned for their meal and siesta and again went to work. Nowhere has life, perhaps, been so completely regulated in all its details. All products went to the fathers and were doled out from the common storehouse. Those who refused to work received no food. Costly articles were imported for worship and the surplus went to Spain. The Indians loved festivals and so saint days were elaborately celebrated. The worst penalty for a culprit was to be debarred from these and from holding office, and there was great competition in splendor, in gaiety and fêtes. At the age of

five, boys were under the charge of alcades and worked or were taught until the middle of the forenoon. Perhaps this was the very best system for the Indians just at that stage. It aimed to make them contented. It taught that the mission property was their own and the king had decreed their freedom. In the villages there were perhaps 100,000 inhabitants and between 1610 and 1778 some 700,000 had been baptised. The trades were indigenous and this semi-communal system was isolated from Europeans and from pioneer corruptions. The fathers' authority became absolute. There was little individual adjustment, no property interest or independence, and the neophytes became morally weak. Thus when the Jesuits were replaced by the mendicants, the Indians could not adapt, demoralization drove them to remote haunts, and they were easily swept away, until now only ruins are left.

The order was suppressed in 1769 and the Dominicans extended this work in California, where also the Indians were gathered into villages, paid a small land and crown tax, could select their officers, and had the same right to the soil. First a small building was put up, with banners and pictures and gifts of trinkets and food, and the pictures of the Virgin were explained. Sometimes wild Indians were captured and brought in by force. The convert after his vow was considered almost a part of the mission property and the priest was his parent. For slight offences he was punished and for grave ones turned over to the governor. There was a ceaseless round of social, religious and industrial duties, and stock raising, agriculture and orchards. There was a chain of twenty-one of these missions extending 600 miles along the coast, till the friars were removed with some 30,000 Indians. The decline began in 1834, when the United States came into possession, and since then a majority of them have retired to the mountains. Some of the property was sold, some rented, and there are many claims hard to adjudicate. There was too much dependence and yet these very methods did not differ very much from the government schools at Carlisle and Hampton. Perhaps a longer period and modern improvements would have abundantly justified methods

so very astutely planned. The same methods have been used with some success among northwestern tribes, *e.g.*, by Desmet.

It was once the custom of missionary boards to send out almost all who wished to go, with little regard to health or training. Many smaller denominational colleges have courses on missions. The volunteer movement has greatly extended and improved our ideals in this field, and some medical and hospital training is usually now required. What is needed is more instruction in the condition of the people among whom they are to work. Our theological schools are inadequate and supernaturalism of a specific type is over-stressed while comparative religions, theology, methods and mission history are slighted. Stoutemyer, who examined the catalogues of nearly three hundred of our colleges and universities, finds that present-day history is very rarely taught, although some of the Southern courses include the problem in history of the negro, and the Pacific institutions often give courses in Oriental problems. The most neglected, and perhaps the most needed, are the departments of anthropology and ethnology, without which there can be little sympathy with, or understanding of, primitive man. The dogmatic aspects are over-stressed; other religions are misinterpreted, and their defects are magnified. Hill<sup>3</sup> points out the gross neglect of practical church problems and social life in our Protestant theological seminaries, especially those not attached to large universities. He even advocates a university of religion. This should, at any rate, teach us not to go to the Mohammedans with a gospel bound in pigskin, or to India with one bound in calfskin, and we must no longer teach that in Burma one finds only "folly, blindness and superstition" and that among Confucians "every vice is tolerated if not sanctioned." Mission work must certainly be a part of pedagogy in every school and college, just as the psychology of lower races should be included in every course of psychogenesis. Races and religions repre-

<sup>3</sup> The Education and Problems of the Protestant Ministry. *American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education*, vol. 3, No. 1, 29-70 May, 1908.



sent different stages. Every factor of indigenous culture should be utilized, if possible, and re-interpreted on a higher plane. We should admit that the Catholic missions have been far more successful with primitive races, even if the Protestants have done better among more cultured people, and that a higher culture is prone to enforce precocity. The Catholics should lay more stress upon freedom and the Protestants upon the dramatic and emotional elements.

Is it not plain to my dispassionate mind who has studied the higher history of missions and knows a little of pedagogy and racepsychology that all present tendencies point to a time when the missionary shall be chiefly a conserver, reviver and interpreter of the best that is in the native faith, whatever it is? Religious progress is slowest of all and especially we cannot "hurry the East." Ethnology and comparative religion have taught us that there are saving elements everywhere and that these have the prodigious advantage of being ready-made apperception organs. Christianity is not the *ab extra*, alien, heteronomous thing we have thought it, but the very best sugared-off product of the soul of the multitudinous peoples of old who have contributed to it. It is the goal toward which all have tended, some more, some less, some with farther, some with nearer approaches. He who chiefly loves and serves God and man, under whatever name, is Christian. The very name, however, Christian or Church, if it offends, need not be assumed or mentioned. The only thing needful is possible without it. Nations are children and the woe to those who offend them applies here. It is better to enter the kingdom unnamed than not at all. Negations must always be minimized. Abrupt breaks with the past and with social environment are always to be deprecated unless there are very clear compensating or preponderant and certain advantages. It is a common place of religious psychology that in every individual and race are found the elements of about every religion that ever was in the world, from fetichism up, and that the best Christian is so only by a more or less safe working majority of his faculties. Catholics and Protestants should carefully and judiciously compare and weigh each, the methods of the other, in

both the past and the present, and teach candidates preparing for the field. The syncretism of all religions, including our own, should be intelligently studied and realized; we should understand what the church to-day owes to Greek thought, to Dionysiac rites, the cult of Attis and Osiris, Mythra, and Apollo; its debt to the inspired and magnificent Teutonic methods, and how all these have contributed to the doctrine of the atonement and to shape Eucharistic rites. We must know and feel the mighty pedagogic power of concession, adaptation, accommodation, and how the church, where it has conquered all, has stooped to all. We have not been harmless as doves because we have forgotten the injunction precedent to be wise as serpents. I have talked with Protestant missionaries long in India who never heard of the inspiring work in that country done by the Catholics Nobili and Ricci, which are among the most interesting and suggestive of all pages of history. Such propagandists should study modern pragmatism, which teaches that the best definition of truth is that which works best, and should reconsider both the truth as well as the error that lurks in the old slogan that the end justifies the means. No one is fit to labor for the heathen to-day who has not arduously worked his way to a sympathetic appreciation of all there is in the native faith and is able to idealize it all it will bear. About all the old religions are decadent. Perhaps nothing so tends to deterioration as a religion if it is not incessantly wrought over and eternally transformed and informed with higher meanings. Hence the missionary's first care should be to revive the best of all the old beliefs and rites and restore them to their highest estate, and to make the best possible Mussulmans, Confucianists and Buddhists, and then and on this basis educate, evolve to the next higher stage, and then the next, always mindful of the peril of great ideas in small souls, of radical novelties and innovations in rutty and rusty brains. We should be ever mindful of the greater good and of future conditions and not allow these to be eclipsed by immediate individual needs. Toleration should be stretched to its uttermost if need be. We should be first of all sure to thoroughly understand the native view and custom, giving

it the benefit of every doubt, should conserve everything and attack nothing so far as it is possible, ignore, overlook, wait long before antagonizing, think much as well as pray, be sure that the natives respect everything in their traditions and life that can be made worthy of respect, and think as highly of it all as possible, trust to growth as well as to sudden conquest; in a word, fulfil rather than destroy.

Suppose an educated young Buddhist should say to a missionary, "I have studied your Scriptures and the teachings and character of Jesus. I have practised the virtues He commended, and more than the young man who came to Him, I have given Him all in charity, but for a hundred generations my ancestors have lived and died Buddhists and I would not desert their traditions or cause my relatives pain. I see no serious contradiction between the two faiths but deem Christianity higher and realize how much it adds. I can do more for Jesus by staying as I am and diffusing among my friends the new light I have found, without coming out and taking a Christian name or being enrolled as one of your converts."

Should such a man be rejected, or even urged to break caste? Could he not do far more in the old harness and under the old name, and would not the same be true of a like-minded Brahmin, Parsee, and all the rest? Indeed, if any of them lived up to the very top of their own religion and idealized it and avoided its abuse, how much would they lack of the Kingdom of God? If they were near it, would they not do more for it by revising and idealizing the faith of their fathers, and might they not thus be doing for it something very like what Jesus did for the faith in which he was born and bred? How far from essential Christianity are the idealized and perfected great ethnic faiths, anyhow? If any of them could be made to blossom into a genuine new dispensation in a legitimate psychogenetic way, would not this flower be at least a near variety of the very same species as Christianity? If so, the true missionary has a higher calling than to convert from one faith to another, namely, to do for the faith where he works what Jesus did for Judaism, develop it to the next higher stage. All religions, if they are not arrested

and perverted, issue in the same love and service of God and man. This is the common goal from which they have been withheld and toward which all of them more or less tend. This, the teaching of the genetic psychology of religion affirms, and only theology and dogma deny. The latter are not religion but only a set of tools that piety has found effective under certain conditions, but which need to be constantly refashioned.

All this presupposes, of course, that both myth and rite never say what they mean but must be interpreted, somewhat as the Freudians bring order into the night side of life by working from the manifest dream content down to the later dream thoughts. This recent method of work has a remarkable field of application here, but must be presupposed. Now, in view of this, if the missionary, on the other hand, should devote himself first, chiefly or unduly to the suppression of what he deems bad and false without this preliminary psycho-analysis of the folk soul, the result, if he is successful, is that the elements evicted from the open will retreat to the more or less submerged regions of the soul. In its unconscious depths they have amazing power of persistence, not only through the lives of individuals but of generations. They are never thus eliminated but only obscured. From the secret recesses of the spirit they motivate feeling and even will long after they are lost to the light of the intellect. Thus they slowly gather momentum, it may be for ages. They slumber, they grow strong; though their very stalk is pruned away, the root, like that of tares, waxes and saps the soil for wheat. At last, in due time, comes the reaction, which may take many forms under manifold provocative stimuli. The new faith may simply languish and die out with no visible cause, because all the energy of the soul available in this field has gone elsewhere. There may be an outburst of fanaticism or a recrudescence of abject credulity till the weeds of superstition grow so rank as to choke all else. Crass spiritism may come in, weird seizures, diverse hysteroid symptoms; there may be outbursts of fanaticism, intolerance, persecution. Effete modes of divination and fortune-telling, forgotten oracles and prophecies may be

revived as the soul strives to restore its losses or compensate for over-strain by reverting to an outlived state of culture. All that dies an unnatural or precocious death in the soul, tends, often most pathetically, to live again, and in this rehabilitated form is often worse and more ghastly than many that came of its own order of psychic growth. These elements, voluntarily expelled, always strive to get back to consciousness, so that progress by unnatural negation is always unstable and insecure. Only if the soul buries its own dead, in its own way, are there no revenient haunting ghosts. This principle has unnumbered examples in the individual and race soul, and most of all in the field of religion. Only when progress is known and all the stages are more or less fully lived out and in due sequence, is there any effective safeguard from these dangerous, wasteful and often ruinous reversions. Religious psychology has very many forms of disease to diagnose, and religious therapy many to cure, but diagnosis must precede healing, and in the psychic realm demands long and painstaking analysis. The real cause and cure are both often baffling, latent, and obscure, far more so than are the beneficent elements in the religious life. Thus it follows again that the development of the good among all non-Christian races should long precede the active elimination of the bad. Thus we should commend early and condemn late, praise and encourage generously, antagonize sparingly and with infinite caution and tact, and learn much before we attempt to teach. All myths and legends, ceremonies and beliefs, should be dissected and cross-examined and explicated as thoroughly as the Freudians treat them to find the sex core, and then only can the Christian psychotherapy be applied with intelligence and safety from the pathetic waste of harm where good was intended. This is both the tragedy and the Nemesis of religious work among backward people. A missionary equipped with the methods and spirit of modern ethnology and genetic and analytic psychology is best ensured against just these errors to which as a stranger in a new land, he is so much exposed. He should be also fully informed on all the larger racial issues of the day, such as those proposed for the first International Race Congress called

in London for July, 1910, to discuss these problems in the light of modern knowledge, and the modern conscience problems already treated in the Clark University seven-day conference in September, 1909.<sup>4</sup>

To-day mission questions are merging into the greatest of all the problems looming up for the world, viz., the new East, and its relations to the West. What will the West do with China, Japan and India, and what will they do with us? Ehrenfels estimates that in these countries about every woman is bearing children during her entire fertile period, while in the West only about two-thirds of this capacity of reproduction is utilized, and that in China at least the best classes are more fecund than the worst and also that in general the unfit are more effectively eliminated than with white races with all their child saving agencies. This, with their now rapid assimilation of the arts, industries and culture of the West, can mean but one thing for the East. To meet this future, we must have under some name a new Oriental type of Christianity, very different from that now proclaimed in these lands. All sectarian differences must be utterly effaced. We must get back of theology to the word itself and perhaps back of Paul to Jesus. We must discriminate between the portions of scripture fit and those unfit for the East. The evangelists surcharged with their own message, feeling that they have everything to give and nothing to learn, must be superseded by those who first almost become Orientals, with veritable genius for appreciating the East and transforming their own religious concepts—men who can learn to impress the leading classes and inspire them to be their guides. Men with a talent for sympathetic appreciation which is hard and rare must take the place of the spirit of criticism which is easy for any tyro. Did any born and bred European or American ever yet understand an Oriental? Even if he has not, our slogan must now be that he can do so because he must, for they may, sooner than we think, become our heirs and wield the accumulated resources

<sup>4</sup> See *China and the Far East*, edited by G. H. Blakeslee, N. Y., Crowell, 1910. p. 455. See also the *Journal of Race Development*, vol. 1, 1910.

of our civilization, and make the future what we now make them. Our mighty conceit of our own race and of our religion have gone under in language and have too often led to antipodal instead of friendly relations. When comparative religion has done its work and we fully realize that all religions are parts of a larger universal one and that God has left no race without some revelation, we may have to confess that as of old all roads were said to lead to Rome, so all faiths, without exception, have in them the promise and potency of salvation.

## THE EDINBURGH CONFERENCE AND THE MISSIONARY MESSAGE IN ITS RELATION TO NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS.

*By Geo. Heber Jones, D.D.*

Among the topics considered at the recent World's Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, that of the missionary message in relation to the non-Christian religions occupies a premier place in the thought of students. It is necessarily a topic vital in its character and fundamental in its importance. It raises the questions: What real and permanent contribution has Christianity to make to the religious thought and life of the world outside the Christian pale? What are the conditions amidst which Christianity must work? What are the elements of truth which will be found awaiting it in other religions as representing the results achieved by the age-long quest of man for the satisfaction of his moral nature? And this all leads to those larger and more vital questions: What will be the interpretation which the races now living in the non-Christian world will put upon Christian truth? In what manner will they translate it into the terms of life and thought?

For two years previous to the Conference, a Commission composed of twenty men was engaged in investigating the various aspects of this subject. Professor D. S. Cairns of Aberdeen, served as chairman, Dr. Robert E. Speer was vice-chairman, and among the distinguished members of the Commission appear the names of Professor W. P. Patterson, of the University of Edinburgh, and Missions-Inspektor Pastor J. Warneck, of Barmen, Germany. In the course of their investigations, the Commission received communications from a long list of 132 different correspondents distributed all over the known world and representing many different nations. These correspondents were confined to the followers



of the Christian faith. In projecting the investigation, they submitted a series of questions directed primarily to bring out the relation of Christianity to other religions. Such questions as these were asked correspondents: Can you distinguish among the doctrines and forms of religious observances current any which are mainly traditional and formal from others which are taken in earnest and are definitely prized as a religious help and consolation? What do you consider to be the chief moral, intellectual and social hindrances in the way of a full acceptance of Christianity? What are the elements in the religion or religions of your field which present points of contact with Christianity and may be regarded as a preparation for it? Which elements in the Christian gospel and the Christian life have you found to possess the greatest power of appeal, and which have awakened the greatest opposition? Have the people among whom you work a practical belief in personal immortality and in the existence of a supreme God?

In addition to these questions which went to all alike, the following questions were addressed to converts to Christianity: What was it in Christianity which made special appeal to you? Did the western form in which Christianity was presented to you perplex you? What are the distinctively western elements as you see them in the missionary message as now presented?

From this partial list of the questions, it will be seen that while the inquiry was necessarily a circumscribed one taken from a predetermined viewpoint, on the other hand, it was a practical and courageous investigation of great questions.

Based on the replies presented, an exhaustive report was prepared and presented to the members of the Conference. It contains many interesting and suggestive things. The Commission divided the various religions under investigation into the following groups: (1) Animistic religions, (2) Chinese religions, (3) Japanese religions, (4) Islam, (5) Hinduism. To the ordinary student this classification appears to be novel and unscientific, but a little consideration leads to the conclusion that the Commission in adopting it at least acted on the principle of consistency. The Edin-

burgh Conference was necessarily dominated by geographical factors in its consideration of the religious life of foreign peoples, and approached the subject from the standpoint of the boundaries of the great mission fields. While this may be consistent, it must also appear to be quite an arbitrary arrangement, for it would be difficult to allege any fundamental grounds for putting in different classes of Buddhism as found in India, in China, and in Japan. However, there is no doubt but what the classification followed lent itself in a very practical and convenient way to discussion in the Conference itself.

In the discussion of the Animistic religions, the work of Pastor Warneck plays a prominent part. The discussion of Animism was necessarily a circumscribed one, but certain salient features were brought into clear relief. The Animistic religion is defined as tradition, for to be religious as an Animist, means to be true to a tribe's tradition. The large part which fear plays in it was clearly emphasized, and its beliefs and observances traced to physical necessity alone; that is, the Animist seeks a physical salvation, that his body may be delivered from the machinations of the host of the unseen world. Even this lowest of the forms of religious life is not without its moral values. On the upper Congo, as well as in other regions, the superstitious rites act as a restraint on stealing and on the practice of inhumanity, because the fear of the spirits keeps wrongdoing in check by a dread that the injured or the departed may revenge themselves.

Several interesting points of contact with Christianity exist: (1) Animism is marked by a wide-spread belief, vague or dormant, but none the less insistent, in the existence of a supreme being. In some regions the animists know a personal god, who made all things and who helps men. (2) There is a wide-spread but very much diluted belief in an after life of the soul. (3) Animistic cults possess the idea and practice of sacrifice, which forms a point of approach by which the Christian atonement may be explained and made intelligible. (4) There is a rudimentary moral sense and a dim consciousness of sin. The African Bantus manifest disquiet when moral law is broken. The aborigines of

India claim that the unclean and maimed are excluded from the next world. The supreme being manifests wrath against man's wrong-doing; he knows everything, and punishes crime such as incest and perjury, falsehood and theft. (5) Animism inculcates the idea of prayer to the supreme spirit. Animistic prayer, however, is not a matter of common and general practice, but prevails in times of special need. As a rule, young people do not observe it, but adults in circumstances of special difficulty and danger seek help through prayer.

Under the religions of China, Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism were reviewed. The report of the Commission calls attention to the fact that while in the minds of Western scholars these three systems are clearly differentiated, yet among the masses of the Chinese people they are confused with each other, their mutual tolerance resulting in the individual Chinese being dominated by an incongruous mixture of all three. Even though the educated Confucianist professes contempt for the religion of the vulgar, yet in times of sickness, death and other calamities he does not hesitate to have recourse to the consolations of Buddhism and Taoism. Ancestor worship is the universal practice.

In summing up the religious value of these Chinese religions, the Commission makes this statement:

Some devout souls no doubt find help and comfort in the later Buddhist doctrine of Amito Buddha and the Western Paradise, and in the all-pitiful, all-hearing Goddess of Mercy, whose many-headed and many-handed image excites their hope. All classes, too, have a comforting though vague belief in the "Venerable Heavenly Father," who is over all and knows all. There is also a very general belief in the efficacy of prayer and other religious exercises, and no doubt those who are really pious derive help and consolation from all the religious beliefs and ceremonies. But for the great majority these tenets and rites are all traditional and formal. The doctrines do not grip the mind or conscience, and the ceremonies are mere forms. Calamities such as sickness, pestilence, flood, and drought call forth much earnest prayer and anxious worship. But the object sought is material deliverance and help; the spiritual is wholly absent. This, indeed, is the characteristic of Chinese worship at all times. It is not prized for its spiritual help and consolation, but for the material good which it brings in the form of health, wealth, long life, and posterity.

Here again it is interesting to note the points of contact between Christianity and Confucianism. There is every

reason to believe that the Chinese preserve to this day an ancient monotheism which forms a very large gate of entrance for Christianity into Chinese life. This monotheism has been greatly modified in the course of history, and is now but dimly recognized, and yet it is there, constituting a species of preparation for the ultimate religious faith. Scholarly recognition of the high and moral teachings of Mencius is accorded by the report of the Commission, though the point is emphasized that the teaching of the Gospel is necessary to bring out the great moral points in Mencius such as his teaching regarding the heaven-given nature of man, the discipline of sorrow and adversity, reverence for conscience, the Princely Man and the ideals of political government. Thirteen other points of contact are summarized as follows:

1. Divine Providence over human affairs and visitation of human sin are acknowledged.
2. An invisible world above and around this material life is firmly believed in.
3. Moral law is positively set forth as binding equally on men and spirits.
4. Prayer is offered in public calamities as well as for private needs, in the belief that it is heard and answered by spiritual powers.
5. Sacrifices are regarded as necessary to come into closer contact with the spiritual world.
6. Miracles are believed in as the natural efficacy of spirits.
7. Moral duty is taught, and its obligations in the five human relations.
8. Cultivation of the moral character is regarded as the basis for the successful carrying out of the social duties.
9. Virtue is valued above riches and honor.
10. In case of failure in political and social life, moral self-culture and practice of humanity are to be attended to even more carefully than before.
11. Sincerity and truth are shown to be the only basis for self-culture and the reform of the world.
12. The Golden Rule is proclaimed as the principle of moral conduct among our fellow-men.
13. Every Ruler should carry out a benevolent government for the benefit of the people.

In this interesting and extremely suggestive list of points of contact with Christianity, the reference to the Golden Rule is particularly notable. It is mentioned four times in the Confucian Analects, and may be translated as follows: What I do not wish men to do to me, I also wish not to do to men. This passage in the Analects appeals far more strongly to Christians than it does to the professed Confu-

cianist. The contrast between it and the Christian's Golden Rule lies in the fact that this is calculated to impose restraint upon unjust and unfair dealings with one's neighbors, while the Christian Rule contains a moral dynamic sufficient to communicate impulse and momentum, thrusting men out into Christlike helpfulness.

In contrast to the points of contact with Christianity, the moral inequalities and weaknesses of the Chinese systems are clearly set forth. In Confucianism it is noted that there is a lack of a doctrine of divine love and of human sympathy with the poor, the outcast and the erring, the absence of faith as an objective movement of the soul, the lack of a realization of the weakness of man's will and of moral bias, the disposition to despise the ignorant and common man, and an undue pride in learning.

The Edinburgh Commission in commenting on Chinese Buddhism makes the paradoxical statement that though it is really atheistic it has kept alive the idea of God. Atheism is far too strong a term to apply to Buddhism, and yet it seems true that the Buddhistic theologies wandered so far afield in their speculations concerning God that they represented him practically as a cipher with the rim knocked off. Buddhism offers certain vital points of approach to Christianity. It has laid emphasis upon prayer and invocation, the urgent need of salvation, and inspired in the hearts of its followers a hope for it. Its doctrine of retribution for sin is corrected by the truth contained in the Christian faith. It has a doctrine of incarnation, and teaches the necessity of self-repression and self-examination. It reaches its highest point of expression in its doctrine of pity, which probably more than anything else contained in Buddhism has been its great civilizing dynamic.

Taoism also in its ancient classical form defines virtue as a thing of the heart with fruit in speech and conduct, and lays before men as the three most precious things—compassion, economy and humility.

It will thus be seen that the religious soil in China is a rich one in which to plant the Christian tree.

The religions of Japan are three:—Shintoism, Confucian-

ism, and Buddhism. Here the basal weakness of the classification adopted by the Commission manifests itself, for Confucianism belongs rather to China and Buddhism to India. It must be conceded, however, that Japan has shown such a wonderful power to originate fresh interpretations in passing the content of Chinese and Indian thought through her own inner consciousness that these alien cults have taken on fresh and new significance in Japan. Shintoism with its code of knightly honor called "Bushido" is defined as a crystallized system of rites for the veneration of personalities closely connected with Japan's existence and history; in other words, a systematized and complicated form of taking off the Japanese hat before the emblems of Japanese ancestors and national heroes.

Buddhism in Japan has taken on new forms, and among the many sects into which that faith has divided, the Shin and Jodo cults practically amount to as great a rehabilitation of original Buddhism as Protestantism has of original Christianity.

Religious life in Japan is marked by a widespread sense of dissatisfaction with the old faiths growing out of the discovery of the lack of spiritual power in these religions. Many Japanese have become keenly conscious of their moral failure. In fifty years, Japan has passed from the agricultural stage of civilization to the industrial stage with its accompanying development of great municipalities. In the old days, the old faiths seemed to furnish a fairly satisfactory solution to the problems growing out of life in rural communities. But to-day Japan like other countries is experiencing the great moral storms which prevail in modern industrial life and which center over great cities. She is facing tremendous moral problems only to find that the old faiths are impotent. They have no adequate answer for modern moral problems. There is, therefore, an unsettling of old religious beliefs and the manifestation of a genuine unrest of soul among the masses of the nation, premonitory of some great religious change.

The Edinburgh Conference was insistent that the missionary of the Christian faith in Japan should take an attitude of sympathetic interest and intelligence toward the old

religions. The elements of good in the old faiths are valuable and should be regarded as preparatory to Christianity.

The treatment of Islam and Hinduism was equally full and complete.

Passing now to the general conclusions reached by the Commission, it is interesting to note that emphasis was laid upon the parallel between the religious conditions prevailing in the world at the time of the rise of Christianity and of the present conditions among non-Christian peoples. The missionaries of the Christian faith stand to-day in the heart of a great battle between the living forces of Christianity and the death-and-life forces of the non-Christian faiths. They behold the sway of an immemorial past over the hearts and souls of men and see the terrific grip which custom projects and the disheartenment growing out of age-long moral failure. Out of the experience of the converts from these faiths comes a new illumination of the real meaning of Christianity, which combined with what the White Race has secured will constitute the sum total of the Christian faith.

The missionary message to the followers of Animistic faiths is the message that God is love and that he has both the power and the will to protect his worshippers. The spell of the reign of terror set up by Animism is broken by the story of the over-shadowing providence of the all-present Father and the divine Saviour and Brother.

The message of Christianity to the followers of the Chinese religions is that of spiritual power. The general testimony which reached the Commission was to the effect that the one thing which the Chinese need to-day beyond everything else is moral power. That ancient and honorable empire has possessed a noble ethical system of which she is justly proud, but within there appears to be lacking a moral dynamic sufficient to realize its ideals. Chinese religious systems impart no inner impulse driving individual men out of themselves and their selfish interests in the quest for higher life. According to the findings of the Edinburgh Conference the great problems which have developed out of Chinese religious conditions are those of moral laxity and religious indifference, re-enforced by a marked tendency towards materialism and buttressed by a deep-seated national pride

in their venerable past. In conveying to the Chinese the message of Christianity its forces have been confronted by the lawful and profound resentment which China feels on account of her treatment by the nations of Christendom. It is thought that Christianity can make a contribution to international good-will by conveying to the people of China in addition to her message of a higher and better moral life a further message of peace and neighborly helpfulness, which shall undo the wrong impression made upon the Chinese consciousness by such international injustice as forced treaties of commerce, the opium traffic, the exclusion of her people from other nations, and the general air of superciliousness maintained by the white races towards China.

In its final conclusions, the Commission made a forceful plea for adequate training in the home colleges of missionary candidates in a deeper knowledge of the content of the non-Christian religions. The average missionary has entered upon his service in the field seriously handicapped by the want of this training, and it was emphasized that the rudiments of this training could better be acquired before arrival at the front. So much time is spent in the acquisition of the language and the pressure of work in the usually undermanned station is so great that it would be extremely difficult for the average student to find the time and strength necessary to secure this adequate knowledge. At the same time, by coming into the field equipped with some theoretical knowledge of the basal principles of these religions, he could then carry on his study of them at first hand with greater facility.

The development of the science of religion has put in the hands of the church a new instrument of spiritual culture and propaganda. It was suggested that all colleges might offer some training in this science and that lectureships on special religions might be instituted by endowment and by coöperation, and missionary specialists enlisted for this purpose.

It was also suggested that missionaries showing special aptitude in the study of native religious life should be given every facility possible and encouraged in preparing written accounts of the religious phenomena they witnessed.



## WHAT MAY BE EXPECTED FROM PHILIPPINE EDUCATION?

*By David P. Barrows, Ph.D., Recently Director of Education in the Philippines.*

The opening of American markets to their products is unquestionably bringing a new era of business prosperity to the Philippines. The governor general has announced recently that for the fiscal year ending June 30th, the sum of imports and exports exceeds by \$17,000,000 the commerce of the previous year. Everywhere there is increased industrial activity. The present administration is laying great emphasis on the material development of the islands; many millions of pesos have been spent for roads; other millions for permanent buildings, for harbor improvements, for the beautification of Manila. Newly constructed railroads are operating. Added exertions are being made for the suppression of human and animal disease. The peace which has obtained in practically all parts of the archipelago since 1906 continues unbroken. Yet this prosperity is not a solution of the Philippine problem, nor do these economic successes, striking as they are, meet the real expectations of the people themselves. Neither will this business activity, if unsupported by other agencies, insure a general diffusion of well-being.

The Philippines have been prosperous before. There were long periods under Spanish rule, when trade rapidly increased, when each year added new areas to productive cultivation, when settlers and adventurers from Spain crowded to the islands, and yet the real social needs of the people were not met, the social discontent was not changed, and revolution was not averted. No mere economic policy is adequate to the growing aspirations of such a race as the Filipino. There is something yet far more difficult to supply and that is a

legitimate outlet for the restlessness and ambition of an awakened and passionate people; something else far harder to preserve than business prosperity, and that is understanding and accord between this dependent people and their political masters.

The most pressing problems of the twentieth century are those occasioned by racial contact and collision. Over a large part of the earth, the white man is master of the political fortunes of the backward and dependent peoples of other races, but it is doubtful if he can longer generally maintain his superior position except by generous concessions. The future is full of trouble and will tax the capacities of the white race as perhaps they have never been taxed before. Toward the close of the last century there was a general feeling that the dependent peoples were to remain indefinitely dependent, their just treatment and material well-being assured by the control of the colonial nations of Europe. The marked success of the British Empire at the end of the century had much to do with establishing this confidence and at least one attempt to state this expectation in scientific terms was made by a British writer, Mr. Benjamin Kidd. It was assumed that the temper of dependent races would remain submissive and that they would be ever content under the economic advantages of the white man's rule.

That this view was devoid of statesmanship and of that rare but certain sense for future change, is clear now after the passage of a single decade. Over great countries where it was thought that the natives would remain docile indefinitely, there now prevail discontent and the menace of rebellion. The Mohammedan world which seemed politically enfeebled past hopes of recovery, has renewed its strength and is pregnant with great change. There is an uneasy consciousness that colonial policies that seemed securely planted on a century of success, now have no certain future. There are few advocates of repression. Lord Morley's recent *Indian Speeches* reflect the wiser attitude that seeks to concede, because it sees that concession is necessary, just and generous.

It is this present shifting of policies, that makes the history of the European administration of the Philippines significant. The Spanish failure has its lesson and that lesson must be seen by other colonial nations or the failure will be repeated elsewhere. What Spain faced in the Philippines during the last decades of her rule, other powers with dependent peoples must face also in these early decades of the present century.

For 333 years, Spaniards governed the Philippines, and in some ways with a high degree of success and a minimum of oppression. The occupation of the Philippines came at the close of the active period of Spanish conquest and it had the benefit of more than seventy years of experience in America. Two generations of Spaniards had borne the costs of discovery and conquest, and they had learned much, when in 1565, Legazpi set sail from Mexico for the Philippines. There had been a reaction against the brutality that marked the conquest of the Antilles and occasioned the extermination of the Indians. Innumerable passages in the laws of the Indies indicate that the Spanish conscience was solicitous and troubled. Las Casas was still alive in the convent of his order in Valladolid. This, and the different attitude of the natives, freed the conquest of the Philippines from the violence and misfortune witnessed in America and made possible the early establishment of a paternal and beneficent policy. This policy treated the native as a ward and for centuries contemplated no other status for him. The natives increased in numbers, in civilization and on the whole in well-being. Until near the middle of the century the relationship between the natives and the missionaries who were their immediate governors seemed well-nigh ideal to many writers who described the Philippines as they were before 1850. Then Spain's policy suddenly became inadequate. It had neglected the education of the native, even when admitted to holy orders; it did not tolerate the growth of native leadership; it was hostile to every influence coming from the outside world. It sought to keep the Philippines a closed vessel, dedicated to the Church.

But the opening of the islands to foreign trade, the arrival

## DYNAMIC FACTORS IN THE LIBERIAN SITUATION

*By George W. Ellis K.C., F.R.G.S., recently Secretary of  
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The daring adventures and the astonishing discoveries, disclosed by European exploration during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, precipitated a world-wide movement toward Africa and its races, a movement which at times seems destined to modify if not to affect seriously the character and quality of Western civilization.

The wealth and wonder of Africa were so alluring that within the brief space of a few years we witnessed the extraordinary phenomenon of a great continent, eagerly divided up into spheres of trade and political influence, and the future of its inhabitants consigned to the indefinite dominion of colony-holding powers.

But in the providence of events, as some believe, Liberia and Abyssinia, have been preserved to this day, through darkness and through difficulties, with their independence intact and their sovereignty unimpaired.

### LIBERIAN REPUBLIC: POPULATION AND TERRITORY

Of American origin, the Republic of Liberia is a Negro state situated on the west coast of Africa. Beginning as an American colony in 1821, it declared its independence in 1847. At its declaration of independence it adopted a constitution and modeled its political, social, and religious institutions after those of the United States. On a hitherto barbarous coast for nearly three quarters of a century, under the most trying circumstances and against the prejudice and rivalry of powerful European states, a small band of American Negroes has struggled to develop themselves and to establish and to perpetuate in Liberia the democratic

institutions of the American people, as an example and inspiration to the millions of the African black belt, who are yet to actualize and achieve their highest and best self.

### (1) *Population*

Beginning with less than one-hundred emigrants eighty-nine years ago, those civilized Liberians now engaged in this important work approximately are from 60,000 to 75,000 and are distributed along the coast in seaport towns from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas and in settlements up the Saint Paul, Cavalla, and other Liberian rivers.

In addition there are in Liberia more than 2,000,000 aboriginals, some fourteen or fifteen tribes, living in accord with their native tribal institutions, except where modified by Liberian laws, and residing along the coast and throughout the Liberian hinterlands.

Among them are numerous and powerful tribes, exhibiting leaders of remarkable intelligence, possessing wise men of astonishing scholarship, and having common men of wonderful aptitude and military prowess. A collection of their industrial products discloses a high order of artistic skill and a wide range of initiation in articles employed in their industries, decoration, and dress.

The visitor soon distinguishes the aggressive Grebo from the simple and hard-working Kpwesi, the sea-faring Kru and Basa from the militant Gola and Mendi, and notes with surprise the dignity, bearing, and manners of the scholarly Vai and Mandingo, the latter being so widely and favorably known as the gentlemen of West Africa.

### (2) *Territory*

With a heavy forest and its territory decreased to about 50,000 square miles, Liberia has the highest mountains in West Africa, and is remarkably free from the fever-laden mangrove swamps and marshy lagoons which characterize the Ivory and Slave coasts, and is generally regarded as the most healthful and "the Garden Spot of West Africa."

It is significant that Liberian territory, generally hilly and increasing in elevation interiorward to the grassy lands of the Mandingan plateau, with the exception of 350 miles of sea frontage, is entirely surrounded by the possessions of strong European powers. In the colony of Sierra Leone Great Britain is on the west, and including now the Ivory Coast French West African possessions are on the north and east.

Liberia's proximity to British and French possessions makes contact and communication frequent and easy, and has given rise to some very grave questions in their international intercourse.

#### ALARMING NATURE OF THE SITUATION

Growing out of some of these questions, Liberia has lost section after section of her valuable lands; time and again the Liberian government has been humiliated before its overwhelming aboriginal population; but at last the Liberian people have been so alarmed and aroused by what seemed to them unjustifiable international interferences, false and studied accusations and charges against their government, deliberate and unwarranted threats against their independence, and such overt preparations and acts as would make sure the dismemberment of their territory and the subversion of their sovereignty, that there has existed for some time such an abnormal and complex situation of affairs in Liberia as to make it now the scene of important international attention and of considerable consideration and interest to the American government and people.

There have been other important and critical periods in Liberian history; and while the present situation differs from all the rest, in the number, strength, and violent activity of its factors and the increased complexity of public affairs, brought about by the concurrent action of powerful rival and conflicting forces; yet, it is the natural sequence of what has gone before in a series of Liberian misfortunes which have their beginning in the foundation of the state.

## LIBERIA'S PART IN ABOLITION OF AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE

Liberia was planted in West Africa as an asylum for the American Negro, where he might be free from the cruelties and outrages of American bondage. It was therefore natural and right for the Liberian colony to join hands with the powers to blot out the African slave trade, which still secretly flourished and lingered on the Liberian coast long after the British West Indies and the United States had been removed from the slave markets of the world.

Driven from the Pongo Regions northwest of Sierra Leone, Pedro Blanco settled in the Gallinhas territory northwest of the Liberian frontier, and established elaborate headquarters for his mammoth slave-trading operations in West Africa, with slave-trading substations at Cape Mount, Saint Paul River, Basa, and at other points of the Liberian coast, employing numerous police, watchers, spies, and servants.

To obtain jurisdiction the colony of Liberia began to purchase from the lords of the soil as early as 1824 the lands of the Saint Paul Basin and the Grain Coast from the Mafa River on the west to the Grand Sesters River on the east. So that by 1845, twenty-four years after the establishment of the colony, Liberia with the aid of Great Britain had destroyed throughout these regions the baneful traffic in slaves and the slave barracoons, and had driven the slave-trading leaders from the Liberian coast.

## FIRST DIFFICULTY WITH GREAT BRITAIN

The traders in slaves soon were followed by British subjects engaged in the legitimate trade of palm oil and other Liberian products. These traders were advised by the Sierra Leone government that the colony of Liberia had no right to exercise powers of sovereignty, such as collecting duties and harbor dues, and so informed Liberia in the Dring case; and later the British government informed the government of the United States, through our ambassador at London, Mr. Everett, that,

Her majesty's naval commanders would afford efficient protection to British trade against improper assumption of power on the part of the Liberian authorities.<sup>1</sup>

So when the Liberian colony attempted in 1845 to enforce its revenue laws against Captain Davidson, a British subject, who openly defied them, the British government sent an English gunboat into Grand Basa harbor and seized a Liberian vessel, as compensation for a British ship, seized by Liberian authorities, and belonging to Davidson, because he had refused to pay harbor dues.

The American government intervened, but when it ascertained the position of Great Britain, it disclosed the timidity of its own attitude by stating that it was not

presuming to settle differences arising between Liberian and British subjects, the Liberians being responsible for their own acts.<sup>2</sup>

Unable to obtain the necessary protection from the United States government, or to abandon the enforcement of its revenue laws, the only support of its civil administration, Liberia was forced to try to meet the situation in some way, and so long before it was prepared it was compelled by the attitude of Great Britain to declare its independence.

#### LIBERIAN NORTHWEST TERRITORY DIFFICULTY

The slave trade still flourished in the territory generally known as the Gallinhas territory, between Liberia and the colony of Sierra Leone, in 1847.

Soon after the declaration of Liberian independence President Roberts went to Europe to secure for Liberia international recognition among the powers. While in England a British philanthropist, Lord Ashley, arranged to raise for President Roberts £2000 to purchase the Gallinhas territory, in order to suppress the slave traffic in this region. President Roberts returned to Liberia and by 1856 had secured by purchase from the native owners the title and

<sup>1</sup>Lord Aberdeen to Mr. Everett.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Everett to Lord Aberdeen.



deeds to all the Gallinhas territory from the Mafa River to the Sherbro Island, and had exterminated the trade in slaves in this section.

To this territorial acquisition of Liberia no objection was made at the time by the government of Great Britain, although President Roberts in another trip to Europe in 1852 duly informed the British government of his having completed the extension of Liberian sovereignty over the Gallinhas territory as far as Sierra Leone.

Following the destruction of the slave trade there sprung up in this section a flourishing trade in palm oil, and numerous British merchants from Sierra Leone settled on the upper Liberian coast, in the Gallinhas territory.

It was the fashion of these British traders to settle at points remote from civilized Liberian settlements where they might the more easily escape the payment of customs duties to the Liberian government.

John M. Harris, a British merchant, stationed himself in this region between the Sulima and Mano rivers. He not only refused to acknowledge and obey the customs regulations, but in every respect openly defied the authority of the Liberian government. He was so bold in his infringement of the customs laws that the Liberian government felt it absolutely necessary to take some action against him to prevent the demoralization of its customs administration.

So in 1860 the Liberian government sent a coastguard and captured two schooners belonging to Harris, between Cape Mount and Mano Point, while they were engaged in the contravention of Liberian revenue laws. The Sierra Leone government sent the *Torch*, a British gunboat, to Monrovia and took suddenly from the Liberian government by force the two offending Harris schooners.

Then for the first time Great Britain began to dispute Liberia's title to any portion of the Gallinhas territory. It was while President Benson was in England on this question, in 1862, that Earl Russel first informed him that the British government recognized the political rights of Liberia *only* to extend east of Turner's Peninsula to the River San Pedro.

Urged on by the Sierra Leone government and supported by the British government, Harris continued to defy the Liberian authorities and went so far as to ally himself with native chiefs and sent a war upon the Vais in the vicinity of Grand Cape Mount. The Liberian government at different times sent expeditions in defense. In one of them the Gallinhas attack was repelled and some of the Harris forces, smarting under defeat, returned and destroyed some of the Harris factories. The British government demanded an indemnity of £8878.9.3 for the Harris losses, and extended her disputation to all the territory from Sherbro Island to Cape Mount.

Liberia appealed to the United States and the questions were discussed without conclusion for nearly twenty years, in two commissions and in the diplomatic correspondence of Liberia, Great Britain, and the United States, during which British claims were run up to £17,899.5.3.

Great Britain promised to submit this boundary question to the arbitration of the United States, but when the time arrived at the meeting of one of the commissions at Sierra Leone she firmly declined to do so.

A careful study of the facts in this question warrants the conclusion that these British subjects were encouraged and sustained by the Sierra Leone government to violate Liberian customs laws and to openly defy Liberian authority in order to keep up trouble and to lay the foundation for just such a British demand as was presented in "the Harris and Manna River Claims," as a kind of show of justification for taking Liberian territory. And when Great Britain was ready to take the territory she abandoned the British claims.

Finally in 1882, over the warmest diplomatic advocacy of Liberian rights by the United States, Great Britain sent Sir Arthur Havelock, governor of Sierra Leone and consul to Liberia, armed with four gunboats, to Monrovia and secured under duress from the Liberian president a treaty giving up all Liberian rights to the Gallinhas territory from Sherbro Island to the Mafa River, in exchange for the sum of £4750 and the abandonment of British claims.

Later through the influence of the United States this boundary was fixed in the Anglo-Liberian treaty of 1885 at the Mano River, and thus a contest for Liberian territory was temporarily closed while a larger one was opened, which, with comparative success, has continued to the present day.

#### LIBERIAN BOUNDARY DIFFICULTIES WITH FRANCE

The national and international effect of this forcible annexation of Liberian northwest territory by Great Britain was not only distressing but far-reaching. Liberia was deeply wounded and permanently injured. The hope of effective protection from the United States, when in the right, so widely entertained by the Liberian people, was most seriously impaired and the spirit which had sustained the great work of Liberian civilization was most vitally depressed. European powers, and especially France, were now impressed that the United States would hardly do more for Liberia than use her diplomatic good offices. And although French sentiment condemned the attitude of Great Britain in the matter of the Anglo-Liberian boundary, France began to think how she might follow British example.

For centuries France and England had been rivals. France entered the crusade for the abolition of the slave trade in West Africa to share with Great Britain any advantages to be obtained. She now turned her attention to the Liberian situation.

The Maryland State Colonization Society, with funds raised in the United States, purchased the title to the lands of the Ivory Coast east of Cape Palmas as far as the San Pedro River in 1846. These lands were transferred to the State of Maryland in Liberia in 1854, and to Liberia in 1857; and aside from receiving no protest from any of the powers at the time, this territory was in the undisputed possession of Liberia for nearly forty years.

In addition to making claims to Cape Mount, Grand Basa, Great and Little Butu, and Garrawe, points on the main Liberian coast, France claimed in 1891 the Ivory Coast, based on title deeds obtained by French Naval commanders,

who visited the Liberian coast about 1890. Upon the French announcement of the acquisition of the Ivory Coast to the Powers, Great Britain and the United States formally objected and Liberia appointed Baron de Stein, a Belgian subject, as her representative at Paris to adjust this boundary dispute.

During the Paris negotiations France proposed to waive her other claims on the Liberian coast and give 25,000 francs in addition if Liberia would relinquish her claim to the territory east of the Cavalla River. Discouraged by the experience of the northwest boundary dispute, Baron de Stein was instructed by the Liberian executive government to sign a treaty to this effect. Upon interest taken by the United States in the controversy, the Liberian senate hesitated to ratify this treaty of 1892, when under the influence of information of French advances near Cape Palmas and telegrams from Paris announcing French threats, the Liberian government felt it useless to contend further and surrendered to France its Ivory Coast on the east.

#### PRESENT BOUNDARY PROBLEM WITH GREAT BRITAIN

In 1903 the Anglo-Liberian boundary was delimited. The line threw the Kaure-Lahun Section to the republic of Liberia, where the Liberian flag was raised without protest or opposition. At the time of the delimitation the town of Kaure-Lahun was occupied by a detachment from the Sierra Leone frontier force, and although that town was admitted to belong to Liberia, the British force did not evacuate it.

In 1904 the British government asked permission for the further advance of British troops into Liberian territory to suppress a reported native war between Fabunda of Kaure-Lahun and Kafura of the Gissi Country, which war was said to threaten British interest by raids into British territory. The permission was granted and Kafura was defeated and driven from his country. Improving the advantage of this occasion the British later extended their occupation to the whole of what is now called the Kaure-Lahun Section and evinces no disposition to ever give it up.

Already Fabunda had been taken under the protection of the British government. In this process of expansion, assisted by the Sierra Leone frontier force, Fabunda began and waged a cruel campaign against native chiefs in this section who would not throw off their allegiance to the Liberian republic. Liberian officers from near this section reported the burning of towns, the slaughter of men, and the capture and carrying off of women and children.

Although the Liberian government has sent two frontier forces to police this section, Great Britain still refuses to withdraw from Liberian territory on the plea that Liberia has not shown her ability to effectively control this territory, for whose occupation and government Sierra Leone is said to have spent large sums of money. Liberian customs officials were frightened by the Sierra Leone frontier force and compelled to withdraw from the line, *a military zone was established, and a new boundary indicated, beyond which the Liberian government is not permitted to exercise administrative jurisdiction.*

The Kaure-Lahun zone is a rich and valuable section, lying in the gateway to the Sierra Leone Railway and through which much trade is diverted from Liberian hinterlands before it reaches the Liberian coast. Through interior supervision Liberia is now seeking to increase her own foreign exportations by getting control of her own great hinterland trade, most of which now goes to Sierra Leone on the west and French possessions on the east; and it would be another great misfortune to the Liberian republic if from her possession Great Britain should ultimately be permitted to take, under any pretext whatever, another valuable section of Liberian territory.

For the above and other reasons, since the occupation of Kaure-Lahun, Great Britain has offered Liberia £6000 for this section, or to exchange for it the Moro Territory, a depopulated strip on the west bank of the Mano River. The Liberian government has promptly refused to part with the Kaure-Lahun Territory, either by exchange or by sale.

## PRESENT BOUNDARY PROBLEM WITH FRANCE

Although the treaty of 1892 defined the Franco-Liberian boundary, the government of France took no steps to delimit it. In the meantime, aroused by Great Britain's occupation of Kaure-Lahun, the French government began to make advances into Liberian hinterlands, so far inside the boundary as indicated in the Franco-Liberian treaty of 1892, that the Liberian government became very uneasy and exhibited great anxiety to have the Franco-Liberian boundary delimited in accord with the treaty of 1892. For this purpose a Liberian commission was hurried to France in 1904, but French claims were so large that no understanding could be reached. France continued to press her encroachments upon Liberian territory, claiming nearly half of the hinterlands of the three Liberian countries: Basa, Sino, and Maryland. In 1905 Liberia sent a special envoy to Paris in an another vain endeavor to have the Franco-Liberian boundary delimited.

Finally when the French had secured, contrary to the terms of the treaty of 1892, the occupation of most valuable Liberian hinterlands, Great Britain informed Liberia that unless French advances were checked on the north the British government on behalf of British interest on the west would proceed to occupy more Liberian territory contiguous to Sierra Leone. The president of Liberia was required to visit both London and Paris, and to prevent further encroachments on all sides, the Franco-Liberian treaty of 1907 was negotiated, in which France exacted from Liberia the title to the Liberian territories which she had forcibly occupied.

And now so soon France seeks to obtain by a strained construction of the treaty of 1907 and to force it in the delimitation, a large section of Liberian territory in the upper basins of the Saint Paul and Saint John Rivers, as will be tantamount to the acquisition of the best and most valuable of Liberian hinterlands.

The treaty of 1907 has two provisions effecting the division of tribes in the delimitation of the Franco-Liberian line. One of them provided that no tribe or section of tribe

shall be divided. Some tribes have no subdivisions; in that case they were, unless otherwise stipulated, to fall in *toto* to France or Liberia; but tribes having sections or subdivisions were to be divided in accord with the subdivisions.

For example there are the Gorgie section, the Teckya section, and the Mamba section of the Gola tribe. In dividing a tribe like this it was understood by Liberia that the tribe was to be divided in such a manner as to keep all of any one section together; all the Gorgies, all the Mambas, and all the Teckyas, so as not to interfere with ethnological unities in the interest of civil administration. To the Liberian few things seemed clearer and were better understood.

Now the other provision stipulates that the towns Soundedou, N'Zappa, Kioama, and Banjedou shall be given to France. This provision modifies the other one by specifically dividing sections which were prohibited, but it definitely points out how this division of section shall be done by giving certain and named towns to France. Now France seeks more Liberian territory by construction, and by claiming the territory of all the tribes to which these towns belong, and, in spite of the fact that some of these tribes have sections and subdivisions.

And thus it seems evident that neither France nor Great Britain will ever be satisfied with anything less than the total absorption of Liberian territories, and the complete obliteration of the Liberian republic.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF THE LIBERIAN SITUATION

And here, just in the midst of this endless and unceasing struggle for Liberian lands between two most active and aggressive powers, the Liberian situation is multiplied in complexity by the activity of two other independent and powerful forces, and by the combined psychological action of all of them upon the Liberian public mind.

The importance of the Liberian Situation was greatly heightened by what gradually impressed the Liberian people as a deeply laid political plan, of quietly getting control of the military and other departments of the Liberian govern-

ment in the name of *Reform*, which plan had for its object the ultimate overthrow of Liberian sovereignty, and the limitation of the destiny of the Liberian republic to a British colony.

It developed very much in this way. Realizing that Liberia was in a rapid process of territorial extinction, Liberian statesmanship was impressed that the future integrity of Liberian territory and independence might be preserved by developing Liberian resources through the financial assistance of some strong foreign power, and by the cultivation of closer and more intimate relations with her territorial neighbors.

At this point it is necessary to refer to the influence of the British Loan of 1871.

#### (1) *Fraud of British Loan of 1871*

At the rate of 7 per cent, in 1871, Liberia authorized the negotiation of a British loan of \$500,000. Of this amount not less than \$100,000 were to pay off the Liberian public debt; not less than \$100,000 were to be deposited in Liberia as the basis for the issuance of a limited currency; and the balance was to be left in a banking institution subject to the order of the Liberian legislature.

Contrary to the terms of the loan fixed by the Liberian legislature, the British negotiators retained \$150,000 for their services and took out in advance from the remaining \$350,000 the interest for three years, amounting to something like \$105,000. Honorable E. F. Roye, president of Liberia, authorized Mr. Chinery, a British subject and Liberian chargé d'affaires and consul general at London, to supply the secretary of the Liberian treasury with goods and merchandise not to exceed \$50,000. Other sums were squandered and misappropriated to such an extent both in England and in Liberia, that the Liberian republic received with difficulty the benefit of only about \$135,000 of the 1871 loan. In fact, so much fraud attended the negotiation of this 1871 loan that the Liberian people repudiated it for a time, and deposed President Roye and prosecuted



some of his agents for their known connection with this notorious fraud, and because the president sought to quash the matter by the extension of his presidential term by proclamation.

In 1899, however, the Liberian government resumed its responsibility for a little less than \$400,000 of the loan of 1871, agreed to pay a progressive interest of from 3 to 5 per cent, and provided a sinking fund of 1 per cent of certain bond sales, etc., for its ultimate settlement. It made the loan a first charge upon Liberian customs revenue and secured the interest with one-half of the export duty on rubber. And up to the present time Liberia has met all her obligations of 1899.

#### (2) *Terms of British Loan of 1906*

Because of repeated expressions of friendship, on the part of Great Britain and the financial relations subsisting between Liberia and British subjects, growing out of the 1871 loan, British influence had a decided advantage over other rival influences in the negotiation of another foreign loan which was felt to be necessary in carrying out the new internal problems, forced upon Liberia by Great Britain and France.

So the British loan of 1906 was accepted by Liberia with a reluctance and hesitancy that subsequent developments have more than justified. Liberia secured from Messrs. Erlanger and Company, London brokers, through the Liberian Development Company, Chartered and Limited, another British company, a loan of \$500,000 under an agreement, which in a general way, among other things, provided that the loan was to be applied in the following manner:

- (a) \$25,000 for any pressing Liberian obligation.
- (b) \$125,000 for paying domestic debts.
- (c) \$35,000 to be loaned to the Liberian Development Company.
- (d) The balance to be devoted to the development of banking and road schemes by the Liberian Development Company in Liberia.

As security for this loan British officials, as chief and assistant inspectors of customs, were to have charge of the Liberian customs revenue, and the chief inspector was to act as financial advisor to the republic. In semi-annual payments \$30,000 were to be paid annually as interest by the Liberian government until all of the loan was repaid. Ten per cent of any excess of \$250,000 in Liberian customs revenue was to be received by the Liberian Development Company. And the Liberian Development Company was charged with the responsibility of returning the loan to Messrs. Erlanger and Company by the payment of 50 per cent of the net profits derived from the exercise of the powers and privileges of the charter of the former company, together with profits from the banking and road schemes to be undertaken in Liberia.

The loan was actually applied as follows:

(a) To extinguish domestic debts.....	£ 30,000. 0.0.
(b) Loaned to Liberian Development Company, Limited.....	7,000. 0.0.
(c) In carrying out road scheme in 1906 agreement.....	32,776. 11.3.
(d) Obtained by Liberia on ratification of Tripartite Agreement, 1908.....	30,223. 8.9.
Total.....	£100,000. 0.0.

### (3) *Reasons for Tripartite Agreement, 1908*

Much friction attended the administration of the Liberian customs by British officials, whose salaries were paid by the Liberian government. The Liberian Development Company completed about fifteen miles of an automobile road in the Careysburg district, had purchased one small steam launch for the Saint Paul River, and two automobiles which the Company was never able to operate successfully, when the company suddenly represented that all the funds for building roads were exhausted, after having spent on an ordinary dirt road something like \$163,882.70. The Liberian people were so dissatisfied with the expenditure of such a large sum for such meager results that Liberian confidence

was greatly impaired in the ability of the Liberian Development Company to expend wisely the balance of the £70,000 which had been entrusted without security to the management of the company.

The Liberian government modified the agreement of 1906 by what is known as the Tripartite Agreement of 1908. By this agreement Liberia assumed direct responsibility to Messrs. Erlanger and Company for the loan of 1906, and aside from obtaining some advantages in the new agreement secured from the Liberian Development Company the residue of the loan, amounting to £30,223.8.9, and practically dispensed with the future services of this company in the solution of the new Liberian problems.

#### *(4) Reforms Demanded by Great Britain*

While the Liberian government was having its sad and unfortunate experience with the Liberian Development Company, the British government demanded the reorganization of Liberian finances, the reform of the Liberian judiciary, and the establishment of a Liberian frontier force under British officers, for the policing of the Anglo- and Franco-Liberian frontiers; and coupled with these demands the statement on the one hand, that if Liberia would adopt these reforms, perhaps, Great Britain might give up Kaure-Lahun, and on the other hand, that if Liberia did not carry out these reforms Great Britain would not guarantee the future independence of the Liberian republic.

As all these reforms are necessary, the Liberian government did not hesitate to enter upon their immediate prosecution. In the financial, judicial, and military departments of the Liberian government the reform work was making considerable progress under British direction, when remarkable disclosures concerning the intentions and conduct of resident British officials brought British direction and influence to a tragic and sudden close.

*(5) The Crisis*

British officials in charge of the Liberian customs demanded more subinspectors and three more were added to the customs staff. The British influence was insisting that Mr. Inspector Lamont should not only be financial advisor but that he should have the veto power over the expenditures of the Liberian government with a seat in the Liberian cabinet.

Under the command of Major Cadell, a British officer, the construction of the Monrovia barracks and the organization of a Liberian frontier force were hopefully begun in the midst of the confusion created by the protests of the Germans along the Liberian coast on the one hand, and by the indignant attitude of France, who demanded equal representation with Great Britain in the official staff of the Liberian frontier force on the other, and who regarded this Liberian frontier force as little other than a "British army of occupation."

Liberia was informed that if she consented to the French demands Great Britain would join with France in the disrapture and division of the republic.

Assisted by two other British officers with the rank of captain, Major McKay Cadell enlisted, contrary to Liberian law, not less than a third of the Liberian frontier force from British subjects of Sierra Leone. At first he denied it, and refused to dismiss them upon the request of the Liberian government, and only admitted it when further denial was useless.

The caps, suits and other supplies of the Liberian frontier force were stamped with the crown and other emblems of His Britannic Majesty's service, and various conflicting explanations were offered to the people.

Major Cadell persuaded the Monrovia city government to permit him to undertake without compensation the command of the city police force, as chief of police. He not only supplanted the loyal Kru police force with Mendi soldiers from the barracks, but sought to be street commissioner, tax collector, treasurer of the city, and so many

other functions of government, that the people were compelled to dispense with his *free services*. He declined to resign and presented a large bill as the condition upon which he would deliver up the city property entrusted to him.

Major Cadell reached the point where he refused to be supervised by the Liberian government and resented suggestions on the part of the President to such an extent that the British consul general required the major's letters to the president to be first submitted to the British consulate general.

The disposition and conduct of Major Cadell at the barracks became such a menace in the estimation of the Liberian public that the general government as well decided to dispense with the services of this officer as the commander of the Liberian frontier force at the Monrovia barracks. This time he not only refused to resign, but he made out and presented a large unitemized bill to the Liberian government, and wrote a letter to President Barclay, sending a copy to the senate, in which he threatened violence to the Liberian executive unless his demands were met in twenty-four hours.

Major Cadell had thrown up rock breast-works six feet deep with port holes on the approaches leading from Monrovia, and endeavored to regain possession of some guns which he had sent to a shipping company upon the order of the British consul general.

On February 5, 1909, the British consul general, Captain Braitwaite Wallis, informed the British government that there was a mutiny in the Monrovia barracks, contrary to the facts, eight days before Commander Cadell disclosed this remarkable information to the Liberian president; and had had the *Mutiny*, a British warship, at Monrovia in anticipation of a conflict, to the consummation of which every endeavor had been made, on February 13th, the day upon which Major Cadell startled the Liberian people with his threat of violence.

At once Monrovia was ordered under arms and the greatest unrest prevailed throughout the city. The *Mutiny* changed its position in the harbor to within easy view of the

barracks and the British consulate general, and two companies of the Liberian first regiment were stationed on the beach. Under the strain and stress of the hour the Liberian people met the situation with courage, patriotism, and discretion. And an armed conflict, which British officials had done so much to provoke, and the unnecessary slaughter of men were only avoided by the compliance of the British consul general with the Liberian request that the British subjects be withdrawn from the Liberian barracks, in order that the Liberian government might suppress any insurrectionary movement existing there. And with the withdrawal of Major Cadell the reported mutiny was at an end, and the Liberian government assumed in peace the command of its barracks. During the brief but eventful period in which Major Cadell had charge of the Monrovia barracks he expended on behalf of the Liberian government the sum of more than \$80,000, much of which was unaccounted for and unauthorized.

#### DYNAMIC FACTORS IN THE SITUATION

France, gradually but rapidly absorbing Liberian territory from the north and east and jealous of all rivals in Liberian affairs; Germany, establishing great trade and commercial centers along the Liberian coast and exerting its diplomatic and financial influence in behalf of Liberian independence and sending more merchant ships to Liberian waters than any other European power; Great Britain, extending at every convenient opportunity the territory of Sierra Leone at the expense of Liberia on the west and desirous of exercising the predominant influence in the Liberian republic; and the United States, the great determinative force, having established Liberia and using American good offices in her behalf since the foundation of the Liberian colony, and contributing more than \$100,000 annually to the support and maintenance of the educational and religious institutions of this little republic; these appear to me to constitute the great potential forces operating upon the Liberian people; but, Great Britain and France are the dynamic factors in the Liberian situation.

The action and reaction of the dynamic factors one upon the other, and the complex action of the two upon Liberian public life and social institutions, in so far as they have been put to unnecessary expense; in so far as the Liberian people have been wrongfully deprived of their territories; have been so distracted in mind and so depressed in spirit; have been kept so constantly in a keen struggle for self-preservation; that they have not been able to give the required attention to the several problems of their internal government, the development of their natural resources, and the assimilation of their large aboriginal population, to my mind in a general way are the main features of the Liberian situation.

#### LIBERIAN WEALTH OF NATURAL RESOURCES

It is true that Liberia is characterized by no striking geographical boundaries, yet within its limits is comprehended the greatest expression of the great *West African forest belt*. Separated from the forest of Old Calabar on the east by hundreds of miles of deforested regions of the Gold Coast and Dahome, and cut off on the west from the forested regions of Portuguese and French Guinea by the highlands of Futa Jalon, Liberia has a rich and varied flora and fauna, in some respects peculiar to itself, with some forms to be found in no other section of our world.

Besides the finest wood in the greasy peach, cherry, white gum, ebony, black gum, mahogany, and others the Liberian forest is rich with more than thirty varieties of rubber-producing plants, vines, and trees.

For agricultural purposes in the tropics it would be difficult to find lands more fertile and more luxuriant in their production than the basins of the Liberian rivers between the coast and the uplands of the Mandingan plateau.

Rich in the beautiful palms which produce the cocoanut, palm kernels, and palm oil, it is said that Liberia produces a coffee, indigenous to the soil, which in size, strength, and aromatic flavor is one of the most delightful and delicious of the superior coffees sent out from the coffee-producing countries.

For some time it has been believed that gold existed in Liberian hills and streams, and natives had been seen bringing gold dust to the Liberian coast. Recently mining experts have discovered gold, not only in two counties, but one mining engineer informed me that he has secured more than 100 diamonds within 25 miles of Monrovia, and exhibited in the rough some diamonds at the time.

#### OPPORTUNITY FOR AMERICAN COMMERCIAL EXPANSION

For the possession of this great natural wealth of Liberia, European powers, for more than a quarter of a century, have been engaged in the most vigorous and aggressive rivalry.

Possessing untold wealth of mine and field and forest, occupying a commanding position at the head of the Gulf of Guinea, with ethnological relations through the Liberian Vais and Mandingos with the great Mande family extending into the Niger basin, Liberia is a natural gateway for American commercial expansion to the millions of those fine and robust races which inhabit the African black belt from the Senegal to the Red Sea. What an opportunity for the development of western commerce and the triumph of western civilization!

But aside from the development of Liberia's great natural resources, there is in the Liberian situation an opportunity for leadership in the engaging and enduring work of state building through our Negro Americans, and an opportunity for commercial expansion generally, that are worthy and entitled to the most serious consideration on the part of the American people.

And upon the highest possible grounds we have great historical and future interests in Liberia. Established by our countrymen as an expression of American trials and tribulations, the preservation of Liberia is an American opportunity. Following in the footsteps of the Galilean the American people have become the greatest by helping weaker peoples.

We fought and shed our blood that Cuba might be free, and surprised the world by starting her out upon the road



that leads to the glory of an independent and national destiny. We are helping the republic of Santo Domingo to keep her head financially above the waves; we are lifting the people of Porto Rico and the Philippines to the high and lofty plane of individual and collective self-government; and standing between China and her division by the powers, we have inspired the island empire of Japan to take her place among the first nations of the earth.

In the performance of a great national service the American people have never missed an opportunity. In the discharge of a great national duty and obligation the American people have never failed or faltered. Liberia is threatened to be blotted from the map. In the most anxious expectation we wonder if the United States will fail or falter now.

As the only salvation against the invasion of their homes, the convulsion of their cities, and the dismemberment of their territories, bought and given to them by American philanthropists as a partial atonement for the wrongs which America and Europe for so many centuries had committed against Africans and their native land, the *people of Liberia have appealed to the people of the United States*. The world listens for an answer. What shall the answer be?

## IS LIBERIA WORTH SAVING?

*By Emmett J. Scott, Late Commissioner of the United States  
of America to the Republic of Liberia*

The scout cruiser "Chester," U. S. Navy, conveying the Commission of the United States of America to the Republic of Liberia, anchored in the open roadstead fronting Monrovia, the capital of the republic, early Saturday morning, May 8, 1909.

In a few moments, the long beach-line and the high promontory on which is Fort Morris were teeming with eager hundreds anxious for a view of the trim man-of-war. Promptly at eight o'clock the "Chester" boomed the national salute and was answered in turn from the fort. Shortly afterward the American Minister, Dr. Ernest Lyon, waiving the formality of a first call upon him by the Commander of the American naval vessel, put off from shore to greet the Commission and to apprise it of elaborate preparations for an informal reception in its honor which had been made by the citizens of Monrovia for that afternoon.

About two o'clock, those on board the "Chester" sighted a gaudily decorated gasoline launch putting off from shore. It bore the international signal, "Welcome," and also, intertwined, the national colors of the United States and Liberia. The Commission was received on the launch by President Barclay's personal aide-de-camp and two members of his cabinet, and was conveyed ashore to the accompaniment of hoarse-throated shouts from the people gathered along the shore.

In front of the Custom House there were assembled the Mayor of Monrovia, the City Council, a brass band, three companies of militia, and a host of men and women representing every class resident in the national capital; Liberians,

the Europeans who reside there, members of the native tribes to be found about Monrovia, the Krus, the Vais, the Mandingoes, and the Goras, arrayed in barbaric finery, as well as in the informality of dress, or rather undress, which obtains among the greater number of them. It was a queer aggregation of humanity upon which we looked. The cornets blared a welcome, the Mayor spoke, the Chairman of the Commission responded, and then began a march up the steep hill and through the streets to the home of the American Minister. At the top of the hill, we were stopped by a party of young women representing the County of Montserrado, with an arch held aloft and listened to another address of welcome. Successively we were stopped till we had received in the same way expressions of welcome from each of the other counties of the Republic, Bassa, Sinoe and Maryland. When we finally reached the American Legation the four decorated arches were still being held over us and festivity and joy reigned among the people. On our way to the Legation, men and women ran at our side, eagerly peering into our faces, and expressing their pleasure in all the fervor of emotional peoples.

In each and every address of welcome, as well as many others, to which we listened before putting the shores of Liberia behind us, there was the note of dependence upon America, of kinship and affection for America and Americans, and a willingness on the part of the unofficial classes at least to entrust to the American Government the settlement of all of their difficulties; in fact, it was all too apparent in some quarters that an American protectorate would be heartily welcomed as a way out of the troubles which beset them on every side. It became necessary, I need not say, to correct in as pointed a way as tact would permit the misapprehension under which many of the people—not the official classes I am glad to say—seemed to labor.

Many of them seemed to regard the Commission as being invested with extraordinary powers, as being in position to settle forthwith for them all of the difficulties which had given, and were giving, them so much concern. Members of the Commission in public and in private were called upon

again and again to advise the Liberians not to expect too much of the American Government.

The Commission was compelled to assure them that it was there as a Commission of Inquiry only, delegated to ascertain what measures of relief were necessary to enable them to preserve their government as an independent one. We did not hesitate to point out to the Liberians that at best the Government of the United States could only help them to help themselves, and that we could not and would not recommend that anything be done for them that they could do for themselves.

I have thus detailed at length the cordial reception given the Commission by the Liberians, and have given you some idea as to their eager expectations, that you may judge as to the prevalent feeling among the masses of the people. A review of the history of the founding of Liberia and of the many State papers of one kind and another, which during the past ninety years have been written concerning the Republic, would seem to give adequate basis for the expectations entertained by the Liberians.

Curious as it may appear, Maryland and Virginia—slave holding states—were mainly responsible for the founding of this Negro colony. As Mr. Roland Post Falkner Chairman of the Commission, pointed out in an article contributed to the *American Journal of International Law*, July, 1910, there began to come to view from time to time in a number of slave-holding states a considerable body of public opinion that did not too complacently accept the institution of human slavery as one that deserved other than condemnation and censure. That it was a minority opinion did not influence it to silence; eventually it began to find expression in plans for lessening the horrors of the institution, if not for its complete extinction.

In a résumé of the incidents connected with the immediate founding of the colony, Mr. Falkner says that

This was especially true in Maryland and Virginia, where it found expression in the not infrequent emancipation of slaves, especially by testamentary disposition. By this means, there arose a not inconsiderable body of free Negroes who were plainly out of place

in commonwealths, whose laws, social traditions, and economic order, were based upon the antithesis of freeman and slave, which in this case meant white and black. The free Negro was looked upon by many as the peaceful Indians were regarded, as in the body politic yet not a part of it. It was partly the desire to better the condition of the free Negro, partly no doubt the fear that his presence might be a harmful influence among the blacks held in bondage, which first suggested the idea that he be sent back to Africa where he belonged.

The idea of a sort of expiatory repatriation of the African had been preached in the United States before the Revolution. In England the efforts of Wilberforce had been instrumental in planting a colony of emancipated British slaves in Sierra Leone. The State of Virginia had occupied itself with the question, and had sought the aid of the general government to secure some appropriate place for the settlement of free Negroes. These tendencies came to a focus in the American Colonization Society founded in 1816 in Washington through the efforts of Rev. Robert Finley. It counted its supporters among the leading men of the nation. Henry Clay presided over its initial meeting held in the hall of the House of Representatives, and Justice Bushrod Washington was long its president.

Preliminary arrangements for the proposed colony were made in 1818 when representatives of the society visited the coast of Africa, and negotiated for the cession of Sherbro Island in the present colony of Sierra Leone. Two years later a body of emigrants was sent thither under the convoy of the United States sloop of war Cyane. The hostility of the natives caused the abandonment of the project and the retirement of the would-be colonists to Sierra Leone. A second expedition in 1821 found a more suitable site at Cape Mesurado, but were unable to come to terms with the natives, until the arrival of Lieutenant Stockton of the U. S. Schooner Alligator, who, with Doctor Eli Ayres, agent of the Society, forced the natives to enter into a deed of cession. Part of the purchase price was paid from the ship's stores.

Other settlements along the coast were later established, and finally having triumphed over the natives who had harassed them, also in some measure over disease which had all but disheartened them and decimated their numbers, and likewise over internal bickering and strife, a union of all of the settlements, with the exception of Maryland, was brought about in 1837, with a definite form of government, although the Republic itself, as such, did not come into life until 1847.

It was due, we have seen, to the energetic action of an officer of the U. S. Navy that the colony owes its existence.

The fatherly interest which the United States has shown in Liberia is due to the fact that from the start this nation was a partner in the enterprise. It has continuously, through seasons of stress and storm, in one way or another, played a prominent part in further colonizing, in succoring and in helping to more firmly establish the colony on a stable, orderly and independent basis. Mr. Secretary Knox of the State Department, in a review of the relations of the United States and Liberia, says:

The story of Liberia from its earliest inception to its elevation to independent statehood demonstrates its American character throughout. Its first foothold on the African coast was through the efforts of American citizens. From 1819, the association of the Government of the United States with the project is distinct. The colony was a necessary factor in the execution of a federal statute. The vessels of the United States participated in the initial acts of colonization. Negotiations with the inland tribes for the purchase of lands were conducted by officers of the United States. Prior to the civil war the United States maintained a squadron on the west coast of Africa to suppress the slave trade, and the officers of this squadron lent their aid and assistance to the Liberians in their troubles with the natives. In 1886 Congress authorized the Secretary of the Navy to transfer a gunboat to Liberia.

Thus the resources of the United States Government have been employed to colonize the liberated Africans, to build homes for them, to furnish them with farming utensils, to pay instructors for them, to purchase or charter ships for their convenience, to detail naval vessels for the transport of its agents and as convoys to the colonists, to build forts for the protection of the settlers, to supply them with arms and munitions of war, to enlist troops to guard them, and to employ the army and navy in their defense. The lands which the several state colonies established were purchased with American money by the several state societies. The initial organization of the Commonwealth was perfected and controlled by the parent societies in the United States, and the eventual creation of the Republic of Liberia was due to the generous counsel and action of the American societies in advising the organizations to become an independent state and in relinquishing to the new state the directory powers they had heretofore exercised.

Not Mr. Knox alone has summarized and forcibly expressed the peculiar facts of Liberia's founding and of her claims upon our sympathy, and when necessary, of our guidance and help. There is to be found strewn through many pages of official records in the State Department other,

and, in some instances, more pointed phrase, benevolent expressions of our interest in and concern for the continued existence of Liberia as an independent colony, and as a national entity among the nations of the world. As for example, Mr. Secretary Fish, in 1869, in writing to the American Minister to Liberia with regard to certain boundary disputes between Great Britain and Liberia, said:

You will inform the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in reply to his request, that the President regards the progress of the Republic of Liberia, which has been so much identified with the United States, with deep solicitude, and would see with deep regret any collision between it and any foreign power. And if the good offices of the United States can do anything towards the just settlement of the existing controversy, you are at liberty to tender them.

In 1879, Mr. Acting Secretary Hunter, writing with regard to intimations of French encroachment, said:

When it is considered that this government founded and fostered the nucleus of native representative government on the African shores, and that Liberia, so created, affords a field of emigration and enterprise for the lately emancipated Africans of this country, who have not been slow to avail themselves of the opportunity, it is evident that this government must feel a peculiar interest in any apparent movement to divert the independent political life of Liberia for the aggrandizement of a great continental power which already has a foothold of actual trading possessions on the neighboring coast.

Continuing, Mr. Hunter said in addressing the American Minister at Paris:

You are doubtless aware that the policy of the adjacent British settlement of Sierra Leone, has of late years been one of encroachment, if not of positive unfriendliness, toward Liberia, and it may prove that the policy of France in this matter may be merely antagonistic to British encroachment, and designed rather to aid that feeble republic to maintain its independent status, with development of trade with France and French possessions, than to merge Liberia in the outlying system of that country. If so, it is desirable at least that the United States should be cognizant of the true tendency of the movement.

In successive state papers, Mr. Secretary Evarts stated that:

Liberia is regarded by us with peculiar interest. . . . It is quite suitable that the Great Powers should know that the United States publicly recognizes these relations and is prepared to take every proper step to maintain them.

Mr. Secretary Frelinghuysen regarded Liberia as "entitled to the sympathy, and, when practicable, to the protection and encouragement of the United States," and Mr. Secretary Bayard, Mr. Secretary Blaine, and in later years Ministers Secretary Root and Knox have avowed similar interest and concern.

Mr. Root, in recommending in 1909 that a Commission of three persons be sent to Liberia "to investigate the interests of the United States and its citizens in the Republic of Liberia," wrote to the President of the United States:

It is unnecessary to argue that the duty of the United States toward the unfortunate victims of the slave trade was not completely performed by landing them upon the coast of Africa, and that our nation rests under the highest obligation to assist them, so far as they need assistance, toward the maintenance of free, orderly and prosperous civil society.

Evidently, the Liberians have also been of the same opinion as Mr. Root, for they have not failed to seek to avail themselves of the friendly assistance of the Government of the United States, at all times and under all circumstances. As a matter of fact, as an associate member of the American Commission to Liberia had occasion to state in addressing the citizens of Monrovia at a public reception tendered the Commission, the Negro people of the United States never fail to remind the white people of the United States that they owe them help, guidance, and assistance because they *brought* them from Africa to the United States, while in Liberia the Commission was constantly reminded of the fact that the people of the United States owe them succor in their present difficulties, because the people of the United States *sent* them to Africa. They have consistently and persistently sought to have the United States transmute into action some of the benovolent expressions of friendly concern to which I have referred.



Liberia, as at present constituted, contains some 40,000 square miles of territory, has 350 miles of sea coast, and a population variously estimated. It is safe to assume, however, I think, that the population is made up of some 50,000 civilized Negroes and probably about 2,000,000 natives or aborigines. This minority population of 50,000 civilized Negroes is, of course, the embodiment of the state, and it is of them one must think in contemplating the future of Liberia. They are all there is of organized authority, and it is they who hold in check, or in some semblance of order, the teeming thousands who constitute the native population; it is through them that the natives are to receive some idea of what civilization means.

Sir Harry Johnston, who has written much of Liberia, and to whom Liberia is most indebted for studies of its flora and fauna, of its resources and possibilities, estimates that of these 50,000 civilized Negroes only some 12,000 to 15,000 came from America, or are descendants of those who did. Obviously then, if his estimates are to be accepted, the other 38,000 to whom civilization has extended are indebted for it to these Americo-Liberians.

In a country where the elective franchise is restricted by property qualifications, some seven thousand persons voted at the last presidential election. It would appear then, barring women and children, disfranchised adults and their children, 50,000 as an estimate of the civilized population is not too large. The important thing, in fact the most important thing, it seems to me, to bear in mind in considering Liberia, its faults and virtues, is that the body politic, the embodied state, is composed of this small group of 50,000 persons, men, women and children; and that few groups as small as this are asked to provide men sufficiently prepared to conduct a government without fault and without reproach. We do not, at least, entertain such expectations in this country.

In considering Liberia one is tempted to contrast it with the great powers which have embarked on schemes of colonization in Africa. But this would not be fair, for Liberia must be judged by standards wholly different from those

which have commanded limitless resources of money and brain.

In the conduct of their government the Liberians are primitive and crude, when contrasted with the Great Powers, and there are to be found many defects of administration, and yet, I am bound to conclude, they have accomplished much in the face of most depressing handicaps. They have deliberately chosen isolation as a guaranty of continued existence. No white man may own land in the country, and therefore no white man may become a citizen; they have not had that contact with a stronger people which their brothers in America have had and which serves so constantly as an incentive for their strivings; and yet, one cannot forbear confessing that when the early struggles of Liberia are considered, when its past and present embarrassments are considered, it has done well and is deserving quite as much of praise as of blame.

The civilization they have carried with them to Africa has been preserved, has been kept, despite the fact that they are surrounded by that great mass of uncivilized natives. One has only to see the towns they have established along the sea coast, Robertsport, Monrovia, Buchanan, Sinoe and Harper, and the agricultural settlements along the Rivers St. Paul's and St. John's, to have his respect for the people heightened. These cities are all peaceful and law-abiding. Person and property in them are safe; there is regard for public authority and for wholesome public sentiment. It was with us a source of constant remark that the streets of Monrovia, the capital city, were as safe and as quiet, night and day, as those of any village we could call to mind in our own country.

On Sundays they have a very beautiful custom of raising the Liberian flag, and most of the civilized people attend service in some of the churches, or remain quietly in their homes. Sunday is a day of especial quiet. The adjacent native villages feel the influence of the towns and cities and are also orderly and quiet.

The Liberians are not artisans, and are not at present prepared to cope with the industrial development of their

country, but are adepts, many of them, in the conduct of civil affairs. With the beginning of Liberian independence they have had to deal with the business of conducting their government. No one can read their state papers, for instance, without being struck with the adroitness shown in the handling of their foreign affairs. These state papers are both dignified and intelligent. The tact and ability they have shown in a number of critical instances have called for much praise in high diplomatic circles.

It is to be regretted that they have not had models for guidance in other branches of governmental administration. Although they can boast of a number of very superior men in the field of diplomacy, they cannot so boast in other directions. For instance, there is not in sight, at the present time at least, any man sufficiently equipped to guard them against financial entanglement.

It was in 1871, and again in 1906, that the Liberians under the compulsion of pressure saw, or thought they saw, a way out of financial difficulty by securing foreign loans. In both cases, they found offers ready and at hand from English sources, and in each instance it is to be recorded that the Liberian government was deprived of the just proceeds of what they had bargained for. Disadvantageous to the best interests of their country were the terms of both of these loans. And yet, Liberia, despite the miserable fiasco in both of these instances, is at present, from her customs receipts, manfully meeting the terms imposed upon her by the second agreement; and is also paying something on the first one. A discussion of the terms of these loans may be of interest:

Sir Harry Johnston in his book, *Liberia*, discusses the Loan of 1871. He says:

Towards the close of the sixties there was much discussion in Liberia on the question of public works and the means of opening up the interior to a more profitable and extended commerce, in fact, whilst the constitution and legislature of Liberia were very naturally directed towards keeping this small portion of Africa open to the black man's enterprise, the civilized fringe of this Negro Republic nevertheless stagnated, and the volume of trade was very small, compared with that of the possessions of Great

Britain and France on the West Coast of Africa. Perhaps, also, Liberia, now an independent state of twenty years' existence, thought it was time she should imitate all the other independent states of the world and have a loan and a public debt.

At any rate, Liberia proceeded to acquire both. The Liberian legislature authorized the President of the Republic to negotiate a loan of not less than \$50,000 nor more than \$500,000 in gold and silver coin. The loan, strange to say, was to bear interest at *not less* than 7 per cent and to be redeemable in fifteen years.

The Council of International Bondholders in its summary of this debt states that the interest of the bond was to be secured by one-fifth ( $\frac{1}{5}$ ) of the entire customs dues of the Republic, which for 1870 produced more than 19,000 pounds sterling, and for the repayment of the principal an excise tax of one dollar per annum was levied and collected from all male citizens. This tax was estimated to produce 30,000 pounds per annum.

All of this seems glitteringly fine, but the "head tax" never amounted to anything and although still on the statute books makes practically no returns.

It so developed that as a result of agreements with the English bankers, Liberia found herself committed to borrow and pay interest at 7 per cent on \$500,000 and to apply only \$100,000 of this amount to any purpose that might be called useful—viz.: for the purpose of buying and selling all the checks, script, and government paper of whatever denomination which might be in existence; of the remaining \$400,000, \$100,000 were to be used for a crudely devised currency system, and the balance was to be deposited in some banking institution to be drawn upon "only in case of emergency" by the legislature. In other words, they were to pay interest on \$400,000 of unproductive money at the same rate as for the productive, or useful sum.

It further developed that an agreement was entered into by the English expert representing Liberia, and his two Liberian associates, who had no financial sense, as we would understand it, whereby £100,000 in bonds were issued against a cash payment of £70,000, a clear steal, I suspect I might just as well call it, of £30,000 or \$150,000. The

bankers also proceeded to collect the interest charge for three years in *advance*. These bankers were a benevolent set of gentlemen! The pitiable story of how Liberia was further mulcted by chicane of one kind and another need not be detailed here. Sir Harry Johnston thinks that a generous estimate of £27,000 in money represents about what finally reached Liberia out of this supposed loan of £100,000.

But ahead of Liberia were other financial breakers. Sir Harry Johnston, to whom I have referred, with the prestige of his splendid record as Governor-General of British East Africa, visited Liberia in 1904. He became most enthusiastic over Liberia's possibilities. He dangled before the delighted vision of the President and the Legislature scheme upon scheme for the development of their country with the result that Liberia, undeterred by its former experience, was ready to embark upon another loan scheme, subject to agreements they could hardly have understood.

Assuming control of, and amalgamating a number of rubber, mining and other corporations which had been granted concessions of one kind and another by the Liberian legislature, under the name and title of the "Liberian Development Company, Chartered and Limited," Sir Harry Johnston announced himself as being ready to redeem Liberia from the engulfing debt in which it was wallowing, and at the same time quite prepared to start the republic on the highway of national progress. He completely overcame the prejudice among Liberians,—a tenet of Liberia's policy, against foreigners operating in their country. He frankly told them, and the Liberians agreed with him, as I do myself, that there could be no great hope for the development of Liberia at the hands of the Liberians themselves. He convinced the officials that friendly Englishmen working in harmony with them could make the Liberian wilderness to blossom like a rose. He assured them that his was one of those splendid financial enterprises that would command unlimited resources in England for purposes of governmental regeneration. He proceeded to show them how, if the credit of the Liberian Government and that of the Liberian Develop-

ment Company were united, they would be able to relieve all the embarrassments of the former and have enough left for projected schemes of development. It was a new destiny upon which Liberia was to embark. And what was the result?

I am estopped from discussing in detail the plans and purposes of the agreements finally drawn up, but I am not estopped from quoting directly from the messages of the President of Liberia to the legislature, and from other official documents which have been published, and which reflect such plans and purposes. In short, the loan was for avowed public, quasi-public and private purposes.

The Company, by the terms of the agreement, was to turn over to the Government of Liberia the sum of £5,000 for its immediate needs, and a further sum of £25,000 for the redemption of outstanding Treasury notes. This was the cash equivalent the Government was to receive for its part in guaranteeing the loan.

Liberia has practically no highways throughout the republic, and so it was quite properly proposed and agreed that some part of the proceeds should be set aside for the purpose of road building. The Liberians, however, were not keen enough to have stated in the agreement *the amount that should be expended, and the plan of audit.*

Another sum was to be set aside for paying off some of the existing debenture bonds of the Liberian Development Company, and take care of some of its current liabilities, and finally, if there should be a remainder, it was to be used for certain schemes of the company, among others a Bank Scheme.

The Government agreed to pay interest upon £100,000 at the rate of 6 per cent per annum, and of course to pay the principal. It was further provided that all customs should be collected under European supervision.

Sir Harry Johnston in his book, quite spiritedly criticises the agreements under the loan of 1871. It is hard to determine, however, how less one-sided they were than those of his own benevolent corporation even if his company had in perfect good faith carried out their part of the bargain. The

suggestion that the customs should be collected by European experts, Englishmen being understood, introduced, of course, the feature of external control into the customs service.

It is well here to say that the introduction of these foreigners did tend to promote an efficiency in administration which the Liberians have not been slow to recognize and applaud, but, as showing how these things are arranged on the "outer edges of civilization," it may be stated, of the so-called experts sent to Liberia under the agreement, the first one's selection was, to say the least, unfortunate. He all but confessed his utter failure after two or three months to understand what he was about, although he had been granted a salary of about \$3,500 a year, much more than he had received in the British service in Sierre Leone. The second one appointed has developed into a somewhat capable official, although his chief claim to being called an expert was, it is said, that he had successfully raised oranges in California. He certainly was no customs expert, and I learn had probably never been inside of a customs house. He receives £500 a year. The present chief inspector of customs is a wholly efficient man, but while doing similar service at Freetown, Sierre Leone, the neighboring country, he received a salary of £300, or \$1500 per year, while the Liberians are called upon to pay him a salary of £1000, or \$5000 a year. This salary, perhaps I should state, is twice that received by the President of the Republic. Efforts to reduce this salary to £700, or \$3500, have recently been made, but with what success I cannot chronicle.

Although the customs service as administered under English supervision has been, and is costly, the Liberians have no just grievance against the present management, for it has brought up the customs receipts and has systematized the whole customs service.

The company's high handed manner of expending the money in hand, however, engendered so much bad blood, that at last President Barclay applied to Sir Harry Johnston, Managing Director of the Liberian Development Company for an accounting. The latter, it is said,

expressed the greatest surprise that such a demand should be made upon him and disclaimed any and all responsibility to the Liberian Government for the way in which the money had been, or was to be, expended. He persistently refused to render any accounts, until he found the position he maintained was so untenable that he could not depend upon his Government for support; he also found that President Barclay was about to sever all relations with his company, maintaining, in the absence of any accounting, that the Government of Liberia would hold itself responsible only for the cash actually received. About \$200,000 of the amount raised on the credit of the government, it is said, had been frittered away on badly managed schemes.

In his message to the legislature on January 16, 1908, President Barclay proceeded to set forth this feature of the controversy. He said:

The reason for discontinuing connection with the Liberian Development Company is to be found in the statement made to me while in London by Sir Harry Johnston the Managing Director. Inviting me to his country residence he there laid before me a verbal statement of the affairs of the Liberian Development Company. He said the Company had no money. That it might be bankrupt any time. He felt the Government of Liberia should manage its own affairs. He saw no hope for the Company unless the Government took it over. He in a few days laid before me a plan providing that the Government buy out the Development Company for 100,000 pounds; until it could pay that sum it would pay interest at two per cent. This proposal was made to me in the office of Messrs. Erlanger, Bankers, before I went to Paris. On my return from Paris I refused to be a party to the scheme and rejected it altogether. I did not see why the Government should be saddled with another 100,000 pounds under the circumstances.

The President in his message, further said:

Pursuing my investigations further, I found that every expense of the Company was being paid out of the 100,000 pounds borrowed on behalf of the Republic, rents, directors' fees, officers' salaries, traveling expenses, and also that the company was sending out prospectors and paying them out of this money.

In dismissing this loan of 1906, may I say that no one now contends that the Liberian Development Company has, or has had, any money aside from that it raised on the



Government's credit; to-day it is practically bankrupt. The relations between the Government and the Company have been severed, and under the agreements of 1908 with Messrs. Erlanger, London, the Liberian Government is responsible for the whole loan.

My purpose in referring at such length to these loan experiences is to show that the Liberians have not produced, as I have stated, a man, or men, capable of keeping them out of such financial entanglements. They have had to pay dearly for their ruinous bargains.

I must not blink the defects of administration to be found, and I have not, but they can in some measure be accounted for, as I have stated, because of the poverty of men and money. Here is a population of 50,000, about that of such cities as, based on the census of 1900, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; Ft. Wayne, Indiana; Elizabeth, New Jersey, and Portland, Maine, assuming all of the responsibilities of an independent nation. First of all, well trained men are not easily to be found, for they simply have had no opportunity to be trained, and what they receive in return for their service, however efficient or inefficient it be, is lamentably small. We speak of "sensation-mongers" in this country. Liberia has not escaped them. There also they flourish, and it is probably to them that we are indebted for oft-repeated charges of corruption among public officials and of their willingness to supplement their meagre salaries with bribe money. Of this I can only say that such charges are always more easily made than proven. The loudest protestations of this character have come from those, who, having been checkmated in their efforts to further exploit the Liberians, now turn upon them, and seek to rend them. At any rate no basis could be found for these exaggerated stories of official perfidy and corruption by men as open-minded and quite as disinterested as those who now seek to cultivate a wholly different opinion. Corruption and inefficiency are not synonymous terms.

As a matter of straight fact the internal affairs of Liberia represent the dominance of orderly, constitutional government, and this has been true from the beginning of Liberia's

independence. Even the one president they got rid of was deposed by the constitutional method of impeachment. Their election periods breed a certain measure of public excitement, but, in this country at least, probably no censure will rest against them because of that. Sixty years of constitutional government without even one lapse is not a discreditable record. Liberia now, however, finds itself face to face with duties it can no longer shirk. While the Liberians have done well in governing themselves, they cannot, without outside aid, I fear, cope with the tasks now imposed upon them.

Briefly stated, these larger and more complicated tasks grow out of relations with the powerful nations, with unlimited resources, that hedge them about on all sides. These relations, of course, involve boundary disputes and all of the necessary and consequent problems of international contact. They find themselves in conflict in their disputes with the flower of European diplomacy and while not wholly overborne in diplomatic jugglery, are nevertheless powerless to protest against the weight of brute force.

The question of reclaiming the great hinterland, and developing the splendid resources of the Republic contained therein must not longer be deferred. The world nowadays does not recognize "squatter sovereignty." Either Liberia must develop her own resources, or must see others acquire her lands and do it.

And then, the question of a rational solution of the native problem, the civilizing, the Christianizing, the assimilation of that great mass of uncivilized natives must soon be met in the spirit of the broadest sympathy and with a program at least logical and hopefully promising.

If there be those who insist that the relations of the civilized Liberians and the natives is the immediate and vital point of the future, I may, quite respectfully I hope, reply that it is not less the vital point in the continued existence of European sovereignty over other parts of Africa. Certainly there is no more native unrest, I should say, under Liberian domination than under European domination which has followed the partition of Africa by the Powers of Europe.

I do not believe that any one contends that Europeans have solved the difficulties in the Belgian Congo, in the French Congo, in the Portuguese colonies, in German Southwest Africa, in South Africa, and in Egypt. I should say that Liberia should seek to attain at least as much success in dealing with the natives as the European governments have with the natives in their colonies. There is a native problem in Liberia it is true, but it is just now rather secondary than primary, more remote than immediate.

The native population of Liberia is made up principally of Mandingoes, Krus, Grebboes, Gorahs, Pesseys, Vais, etc.

This multitude of native peoples has no common language. Each tribe and tribal group has its own dialect. Of these tribes, with dialects peculiar to themselves, only one, the Vais, have a written language. In fact, one of the few examples in the world of the invention of a written language was by Duala Bukere, a member of the Vai tribe, who made this invention something like seventy-five years ago. Although the languages of tribes belonging to the same family have philological relations, it appears that the diversity of the dialect is even greater than that of tribal differentiations. As for example, different villages of the Pesseys have such diverse dialects that they cannot communicate with each other except through interpreters. Men, however, with a knowledge of more than one dialect are not rare and they are much sought after as interpreters. Such men wield a great deal of influence in the affairs of their villages.

The most important characteristic of the native population from the standpoint of the government of civilized Liberia is disunion. Because the native population is split up into so many different languages and ruled by hosts of petty chiefs, they have never been able to offer effective resistance to Liberia's authority. There are no signs that this diverse people have any feeling of solidarity or that their differences will ever be sunk in a common cause.

As to reclaiming the great interior section, that will require a considerable sum of money, enterprise, and well-directed industry. It is the general consensus of opinion among those capable of judging that the hinterland holds untouched

riches. With effective, sympathetic aid and direction there is no reason why the Liberians should not be able to develop these resources and use them for the best interests of all the people.

In agricultural and in educational directions, they need just now both guidance and money help. To speak specifically: although, like all tropical countries, Liberia is an agricultural country, its agriculture is of the most primitive type. I am not disposed to hold them too rigorously to account for this, however, for it is only during the past ten or twelve years that advanced agriculture has made its appearance in any part of Africa, and only in recent years that even we in America have begun to show the eager enthusiasm now to be found almost everywhere for the latest and best methods of agricultural production. The staple crop of Liberia is coffee, but the industry is not now, as formerly, a flourishing one. No longer able to meet the sharp competition of those who market their product in better fashion than he, the Liberian has lapsed into a state of discouragement, and is content to raise, in his crude way, with the aid of nature, a most meager and unproductive crop. Only the smallest portion of the area of the country has felt the touch of the hoe or plow. Lack of roads, lack of highways, means of transportation, etc., are responsible in some measure for not opening up the undoubtedly productive lands of the country. Palm oil, palm kernels, piassava fiber, and rubber are treasure stores from the forests, but transporting the products of a country to market on the backs and heads of natives is costly and unprofitable.

About all of the tropical grains, fruits and vegetables which are grown on the west coast of Africa, such as sorghum, maize, cotton, cocoa, guinea corn, millet, rice, plantains, bananas, oranges, mangoes, bread nuts, yams, ground nuts, okra, chili pepper and sweet potatoes flourish in Liberia. Cotton has been grown with some success in the interior. The successful experiments in cotton growing which are being undertaken in different parts of Africa, notably in the Sudan and in the German colony of Togo, where a party of Tuskegee graduates a few years ago began work under the

auspices of the Kolonial Komitee of Berlin, indicate what it is possible to do along this line in Liberia. There is every reason to believe that with proper experimentation cotton growing could be made a leading and a very profitable industry and take the place of the languishing coffee industry.

Liberia recognizes that her agricultural resources should be developed and has made some feeble efforts in this direction. She has a Commissioner of Agriculture at a salary of \$500.00 a year, but he has been able to do little more than issue a few pamphlets and distribute a few seeds. A monthly agricultural paper, *The African Agricultural World*, is published at Monrovia. This paper, however, does not contain very much practical matter. There are a number of Agricultural Societies or Farmers' Alliances, but these societies do not appear to devote much of their time to real practical problems. What is needed are good demonstration farms and travelling demonstration agents who would undoubtedly help the people very much. Two or three good demonstration farms are especially desirable. The example of the success of these farms and the teaching of these agents, would far outweigh the precept of any amount of theoretical teaching outlined in pamphlets. The stimulus of a better understanding of the agricultural possibilities of the country would, I believe, change all of this.

A fairly well-ordered public school system has been devised. A General Superintendent of Education is at the head of affairs. He has supervision of the schools of the state. In each county a Commissioner of Education is appointed, and it is to these the people look for effective supervision of the schools. Very little instruction above the most elementary branches is given in the public schools. To read the school regulations of Liberia, one would think the system ideal, but when the real facts are known they reveal a condition of affairs that challenges pity more than blame.

About \$20,000 a year are appropriated by the Liberian Legislature for the public schools. The Liberian Treasury, however, is not usually overflowing, and oftentimes, although money has been properly authorized, it is not in the Treasury,

and consequently is not available for school purposes. Usually about \$15,000 to \$17,000 are used for school purposes a year, and there is not, so far as we could find, a single public-schoolhouse in the Republic. There are practically no blackboards, never enough books, and of course only the rudiments of elementary instruction can be given. As a rule, an average of about 1300 Liberian and about 1000 native children attend the public schools, all of which are conducted in churches. Well-conducted and adequate schools, with efficient management, cannot be secured without money, and Liberia, at present, has none to give.

An attempt at college education is afforded by Liberia College, to which the Government contributes, as do also the Colonization societies of Boston and New York. The course of study is modeled after that of the smaller colleges of the United States of forty or fifty years ago, and less than 20 pupils receive instruction in the college courses. It is worthy of note, however, that many of the most prominent and influential men of the Republic received their education in Liberia College.

As a matter of fact, the effective educational work of the Republic is not that being done in the state schools, or in Liberia College, but in the schools established and conducted by philanthropic agencies of the United States, notably and chiefly the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church. There are 87 of these schools, including those of the Lutheran and Baptist Churches. The Methodists have a college at Monrovia, the "College of West Africa," and the Episcopalians near Cape Palmas a "Collegiate and Divinity School."

The Government of Liberia must look to others for the means to educate the children of the state. The need of a normal school is urgent. Well trained teachers are a necessity, but most of all, Liberia needs a well equipped industrial training school that would train men and women in agriculture and in those industries closely related to the immediate and pressing industrial needs of the country. Educational conditions are backward, but the explanation is partly to be found in the inadequacy of the national finances.

The Republic is simply unable to do more than it is doing for public education.

As to the education of the native: That is a question and a problem yet to be worked out, not in Liberia alone, however, but elsewhere in Africa, as well. Some few schools for the natives in Liberia have been started, but the problems to be met are many. A system of education especially adapted to the native must in time be devised and Liberia will continue for many years to need the benevolence which now finds its way across the Atlantic.

The other complicated tasks before Liberia, briefly, are: those that grow out of the boundary disputes with France and Great Britain, and those that have to do with the organization of the internal finances of the Republic. Both of these more powerful countries have in times past divested Liberia of valuable territory, and the work goes merrily on. France in 1892 absorbed 60 miles of Liberian coast and extensive territories in the interior. By the treaty of 1907, Liberia will probably lose to France another territory estimated at 2000 square miles. Liberia now plaintively pleads that the boundaries be definitely and conclusively fixed, in order that it may not be further despoiled. As to Great Britain, that nation negotiated a treaty in 1885 with the Liberians, whereby Liberia lost a considerable amount of coast territory, and at this time is earnestly trying to hold the northwest Liberian territory known as Kanre Lahun, occupied under plausible pretext by garrisons from the Sierre Leone regiments.

If Great Britain continue to hold this territory, if France and Great Britain continue to absorb her territory, as in the past, Liberia will find herself confined alone to a narrow coast line, and the territorial integrity of the Republic menaced to the vanishing point.

Secretary Knox in his report to President Taft concerning affairs in Liberia, states that "there are many precedents for the delegation by a sovereign state of its international representation to the diplomatic machinery of another state." Liberia in her present extremity is anxious to have the United States appear as attorney, or next friend, in preventing further territorial aggressions.

It was the unanimous opinion of the Commission of the United States of America to Liberia "that considerations of national honor and duty urge that the United States help these people whose commonwealth was founded by the people of the United States with the aid and assistance of its Government," and to this end presented six recommendations which are designed to constitute effective measures of relief. These recommendations are:

1. THAT THE UNITED STATES EXTEND ITS AID TO LIBERIA IN THE PROMPT SETTLEMENT OF PENDING BOUNDARY DISPUTES

The Government of Liberia has, through its envoys to the United States, requested that our Government enter into a treaty which shall guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic. By so doing the United States would be forced to assume a protectorate over Liberia which that Government has already been advised is out of the question. None the less it is perfectly clear that in the present situation the unsettled boundaries of the country are an obstacle to its internal development. A prompt settlement of these disputes on a definite basis, which, if possible, should be more considerate of the legitimate claims of Liberia than have been such adjustments in times past, would remove one of the greatest hinderances to progress in Liberia.

2. THAT THE UNITED STATES ENABLE LIBERIA TO REFUND ITS DEBT BY ASSUMING AS A GUARANTEE FOR THE PAYMENT OF OBLIGATIONS UNDER SUCH ARRANGEMENT THE CONTROL AND COLLECTION OF THE LIBERIAN CUSTOMS

The debt of Liberia is partly foreign and partly domestic. A portion of the former is now guaranteed by the control of the customs under British officials. It is proposed that the entire debt of Liberia, both foreign and domestic should be reorganized, that the obligations of Liberia should be clear, explicit, and uniform; and that in order to effect this a customs receivership analogous to that now existing in Santo Domingo should be established. Plans are now maturing for carrying out this suggestion.

3. THAT THE UNITED STATES LEND ITS ASSISTANCE TO THE LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT IN THE REFORM OF ITS INTERNAL FINANCES

If the United States assume control of the collection of customs in Liberia, it should appoint as customs receiver a person capable of exercising the functions of financial adviser to the Liberian Government, and the duties of such an adviser should be fixed by agreement with the Government of Liberia.



4. THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD LEND ITS AID TO LIBERIA  
IN ORGANIZING AND DRILLING ADEQUATE CONSTABULARY OR  
FRONTIER POLICE FORCE

The proposal is that not less than three officers from the American Army should be sent to Liberia to complete the work begun by British officers, and train up a body of Liberians capable of eventually taking over the command of the force.

The experience of Porto Rico, where an effective police battalion was under command of former non-commissioned officers of the army, proves that such a proposition is practical and not visionary. What is wanted among these men is drill and military discipline. They act in small squads and not as a mass.

5. THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD ESTABLISH AND MAINTAIN  
A RESEARCH STATION IN LIBERIA

The object of such station should be the scientific research of the natural phenomena of the country, the development and preservation of its sources of wealth, the effect of climate on health, and the causes, treatment, and cure of tropical diseases. In this the Commission believes that the underlying purpose of the recent request of the Liberian Government to send to that country an expert from the Department of Agriculture could best be carried out. The problem before the Liberians is a large one. Their country is little known either to the world or to themselves. A knowledge of its natural phenomena would be the most effective service which could be rendered to it in aid of its internal development. It would bring to the attention of the people the importance in agriculture which would stimulate present production and would undoubtedly discover new forms of agriculture to which the country is well adapted. It would, moreover, by its researches in the field of hygiene and sanitation, enable them better to resist the ravages of the climate and by improving the general health of the community, add to its wealth. It would by its research do much to open up the great hinterland and would point the way to productive enterprise in the means of communication. No other service which could be rendered the Liberians at the present time would be more fundamental and give greater assurance of future prosperity to the country.

The United States has already in its brief career in the Tropics made researches and discoveries which have enriched the world's knowledge of tropical conditions. It is to be anticipated that were a well-organized station established in Liberia, there would be further fruits of research which would redound to the credit of the United States. It would afford to the American student an opportunity for the study of the natural products of the continent of Africa in one of its least explored and probably richest parts.

6. THAT THE UNITED STATES REOPEN THE QUESTION OF ESTABLISHING A NAVAL COALING STATION IN LIBERIA

Such a naval station would involve rather expensive harbor works and estimates of the cost of such works have been prepared by the engineer officers of the navy. With the growing importance of the navy of the United States and with the increasing share of the country in world movements, it would appear to the members of the Commission that this question might well receive further consideration and study. The reports submitted to the Navy Department are not altogether unfavorable to the project and some representatives of that department are most strongly inclined toward it.

I have spoken mainly in defense of the Liberians, but not without the keenest appreciation of the faults of the past and the tasks of the future. Hope, faith, confidence, racial ties,—all, lead me most earnestly to hope that there may be preserved this one spot on the African continent where, unhampered, the black man may be permitted to work out his destiny in fear and trembling.

Is Liberia worth saving? I believe that it is. Her people are not revolutionary in character, as are, for instance, those belligerent friends to the South of us. The Liberian republic is not bankrupt despite alarmist reports to the contrary. The Liberians have advanced and not retrograded in civilization. They have helped to uplift the natives—to no considerable degree it is true, but nevertheless to an appreciable degree. Finally, they have given the lie to the statement that "Negroes cannot conduct an orderly form of government," guaranteeing to its people life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

## PROBABLE INFLUENCE OF THE TURKISH REVOLUTION ON THE FAITH OF ISLAM

*By George Washburn, LL.D., recently President of Robert College, Constantinople*

In the minds of those who brought it about the Turkish Revolution was not in any sense religious. It was political and social. It was a Turkish, not a Mohammedan revolution, designed to save the Empire of the Turks from dismemberment and to restore its power. The Ottoman Turks have ruled this Empire for six hundred years and although they constitute only about one-fifth of the population, although two-thirds of their Mohammedan subjects belong to conquered races, they still expect to maintain their supremacy in a constitutional government. No other race in the Empire is strong enough to take their place and no two or three of them are likely to unite against them. The Turks have always been famous as soldiers and as rulers over conquered races. The small tribe which followed Ertogrul were Moslems when they first appeared in Asia Minor, but the Kingdom which they founded was always governed by political rather than religious motives. Mohammed II, the conqueror of Constantinople, was as far as possible from being a fanatical Mohammedan.

Constantinople has never been the religious centre of the Mohammedan world, and the Turks have never had much influence over Moslem thought even in Turkey. The Arabs look upon them as little better than barbarians, and Islamism is an Arab religion. Mecca is the religious centre of the faith, and Cairo has long been a theological centre. Every year thousands of Moslems from all parts of the world go to Mecca to visit the sacred places and celebrate the festival of Courban Beiram (the feast of sacrifices). Every Moslem is bound to make this pilgrimage at least once in

his life. This annual gathering really constitutes something like a Panislamic Congress where all the interests of the faith are discussed at length by representatives of different countries and where plans are made for its defence and propagation. Little regard is paid there to the authority of the Turkish Caliph. As Sultan he may give to his people a Constitution which recognizes the political equality of Moslems and Christians and the Sheik-ul-Islam at Constantinople may declare that this is not contrary to the Sacred Law, but every Moslem is free to judge for himself whether this new interpretation is to be received or not. It is a new doctrine, contrary to the spirit of Islam, if we can judge of this by the history of Mohammedan governments. We have no reason to suppose that Mecca has condemned the idea of a Constitution or of a parliament, for Mohammedanism is a democratic religion, quite as much so as the most democratic forms of Protestant Christianity, and the immediate successors of the Prophet were chosen by the people. The novelty and heresy of the Turkish Constitution is that it makes no distinction between believers and unbelievers. The parliament which is to make the laws which are binding on Mohammedans and to limit the power of the Caliph is made up of Christians and Jews as well as true believers. If Mecca ever consents to this it will be a revolution, the beginning of a new era in the history of Islam. Thus far the average Moslem would rather live under the worst Mohammedan government than under the best Christian rule. If the Moslem as well as the Christian population received the revolution and the deposition of Abd-ul-Hamid with joy it was not because they approved of the Constitution or even understood what it meant, it was because it freed them from the yoke of a terrible despotism and inspired vague hopes of escape from taxation and all the burdens of life. They soon discovered their mistake and it has been necessary for the leaders of the Young Turk party to employ all possible means to convince them that the religious status of the government is unchanged. The Constitution itself recognizes the Sultan as Caliph and declares that the religion of the Empire<sup>1</sup> is

Islamism. The great majority of the members of Parliament are Moslems and a large number are of the Ulema. It is assumed that no law can be passed which is contrary to the *Sheriat* (sacred law) and all discussions take this into consideration. There is no evidence that the present government would regard the public profession of Christianity by a Moslem with any more favor than that of Abd-ul-Hamid. On the whole the government has been more successful in conciliating the Moslems of different races than the Christians. The Greeks especially have adopted a policy which is calculated to rouse the fanaticism of the Moslems against them and which makes it very difficult for the Young Turks to carry out their plans and fulfil their promises. What the Greeks dream of and aim at is not the reformation of the Turkish Empire but its destruction.

A brief statement of the above facts has seemed necessary to make it clear that the Turkish revolution was not designed in any way to influence Moslems to abandon their faith or to weaken the general power and progress of Islam in the world. On the other hand the Young Turks have publicly, in the Turkish newspapers of Constantinople, repudiated all sympathy for the political intrigues of Pan-Islamism and have put down by force the latest Mahdi movement in Arabia. Their one aim has been to save the Turkish Empire. Revolutions with this end in view have been frequent in the history of the Ottoman Empire. The peculiarity of *this* revolution was that it set aside the Oriental despotism which has ruled for six hundred years and established a limited monarchy and representative government modeled after the modern governments of Europe, to be based upon principles of liberty, justice, equality and fraternity. The people are to rule through their chosen representatives and all the people, of whatever race or religion, are to have a part in the government with equal rights and equal duties. There is no doubt of the sincerity of the leaders of the revolution, and they have done their best to establish such a government. The Sultan has heartily accepted the new regime. The country is governed to-day by a Parliament chosen by the people, in which there has been free discus-

sion of all political questions. The government is supported by the army and there is reason to believe that it will weather the storms which threaten it.

The question is, what influence it has had or is likely to have upon the faith of Islam in Turkey and in the Moslem world.

If we answer this question in a general way in the light of History it does not appear that change of government or political revolutions tend to change the religious faith of the people. The Christian world has been too ready to believe that when the political power of Mohammedanism was destroyed it would gradually disappear. Most of the Moslems in the world are now under the rule of Christian states, but as a religious force Islamism was probably never stronger than it is now. There have been comparatively few conversions to Christianity under the rule of England, France, or Russia, and none, so far as I know, in the Balkan states. It is generally true that the people of a conquered state do not forsake their religion to adopt the faith of their conquerors unless they are compelled to do so by force. This is an historical fact. The many revolutions which have been made in the name of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity during the last one hundred and twenty years have certainly had an influence upon the religious life and faith of the people, but they have not in any state led the people to change from one established faith to another, as from Catholicism to Protestantism or the reverse. The most that can be said is, that in Europe they have opened the way for a greater freedom in propagating all forms of belief and unbelief, and have favored the progress of learning and the general enlightenment of the people. The revolution in Japan has been altogether exceptional. There has been nothing like it in the history of the world. It was purely political and most of the results have been political, but among other Western ideas it adopted the principle of full religious liberty and although the mass of the people cling to its old faiths, the way has been opened for a Christian propaganda which has now many converts. No such results can be hoped for in the Mohammedan world, which was

originally anti-Christian and has been in close relation with Christianity during all its history. Between Islam and Christianity there are thirteen centuries of conflict and seas of blood. It is hard for a Moslem even to think of the possibility of crossing this abyss, and the Christian world has done very little to win them over. There is a general awakening in the Mohammedan world of which we know but little except in its outward movements, in the revolutions in Turkey and Persia, in the unrest manifested in India, Northern Africa and even among the Moslems in China. It seems to be due in some measure to the general awakening of Asia since the triumph of Japan over Russia, and it is certain that it does not imply any inclination on the part of Moslems to abandon their faith.

What the most liberal of the Young Turks desire and anticipate, is that Mohammedanism in the Ottoman Empire at least, may be modernized and brought into sympathy with the spirit of the age, at least so far that it can take advantage of the general material progress of the world. They hope to rival Japan and overtake the foremost nations of Europe and they believe that European ideas of civilization can be grafted on to the faith of Islam without weakening its hold upon the true believers. They look back upon the glories of Bagdad and Cordova, when Europe was sunk in the darkness of the Middle Ages, and those two Moslem cities with their rival Caliphs were the centres of light and learning in the world, and when Greek philosophy found its way into Europe through Arabic translations. These lights were not put out by the Moslems. Bagdad was destroyed by Hulagoo who was at least half a Christian and who offered to ally himself with the Crusaders against the Saracens. Cordova was destroyed by the most "Christian" sovereign of Spain. Renan has shown that these wonderful developments of learning were neither Moslem nor Arab in their spirit or origin, but after all they existed under the patronage of Moslem Caliphs, when Christian civilization could show nothing to compare with them and it is natural that Moslems should be proud of them and believe in the possibility of a revival of learning among Mohammedans in this age.

The Young Turks have another ground of hope in the fact that Islamism admits of a great variety of beliefs on all sorts of questions. There are hundreds of Moslem sects and it is very difficult for a Christian to discover exactly what is essential to the faith. The name Islam means simply, resignation to the will of God. A distinguished Moslem statesman and scholar once assured me that nothing was essential beyond a belief in the existence and unity of God. Several years ago the Sheik-ul-Islam, the highest authority in Constantinople, in a letter to a German inquirer, which was published in the newspapers in the city, stated that "whoever confesses that there is but one God and that Mohammed is his prophet, is a *true* Moslem, although to be a *good* one it is necessary to observe the five points of confession, prayer, fasting, almsgiving and pilgrimage." The confession of faith laid down in the Koran is more explicit, but admits of wide difference of opinion. "I believe in God, in the Angels, in the Books, in the Prophets, in the Judgment day, in the Eternal decrees of God Almighty concerning both good and evil, and in the Resurrection after death." There are Moslems who are mystics, hard to be distinguished from the old Christian mystics. There are rationalists of all sorts, there are Deists, like the old English Deists, there are pantheists of the Spinoza type, there are followers of Spencer and other modern philosophers. One of the most interesting books written by a Moslem has been translated into English and is well worth reading. It is called, "*The Spirit of Islam*." It was written by Justice Ameer Aali, a distinguished Judge in India, and represents the ordinary belief of Mohammedans about as accurately as Renan's *Life of Jesus* represents Orthodox Christianity.

There is nothing in the ethical code of Islam which is theoretically inconsistent with Christian civilization. According to Omar Nessafi, a high and ancient authority, it demands:

Honesty in business: Modesty or Decency in behaviour: Fraternity between all Moslems: Benevolence and kindness toward all creatures. It forbids gambling, some kinds of music, the making or possessing of images, the taking of God's name in vain,



the drinking of intoxicating liquors and all false oaths. The Moslem must avoid all that is contrary to religion, law, humanity, good manners and the duties of society. He ought especially to guard against deception, lying, slander and abuse of his neighbor.

The Koran is full of exhortation to righteousness and denunciations of wrong as well as of enigmatical passages which admit of the most unexpected interpretations. Until it was so explained by the Sheik-ul-Islam, no one had ever dreamed that the one hundredth verse of the third Sura approved of constitutional and parliamentary government, with equal rights for all. The latest English translation of this passage is, "that there may be among you a people who invite to the good and enjoin the just and forbid the wrong. These are they with whom it shall be well."

Theoretically there seems to be no reason why the Young Turks should not succeed in establishing and maintaining a Mohammedan government on the liberal Constitutional lines which they have laid down, notwithstanding the fact that this will necessitate a radical reform in Islam.

Practically the obstacles to be overcome are many and formidable, and they cannot hope for much sympathy from the reform movements which are now at work in Arabia and Africa. Neither the Wahabites who are still influential, nor the Sennusi, the Jesuits of Islam, desire to modernize the faith. Their watchword is, "Back to the Prophet and the Koran." In Turkey itself they have to contend not only with racial antipathies, but with ignorance, superstition and fanaticism, which is deeply rooted in the life of the people, whose faith is based, not upon the Koran, but upon tradition and the teaching of the Imam Hanife. There are millions in Arabia and Kurdistan who have made no progress towards civilization since the time of the Prophet.

The Turkish revolution was brought about by the army, and this is still its chief defence and support, but the Young Turks formed their hopes of success first of all upon the education of the people, which they hope to bring about not only by schools and the press, but by the system of Parliamentary government, which will make the people acquainted

with what is going on in the world as well as with their own rights and duties as citizens. They are also reforming the Theological schools on modern principles. They have abolished the religious character of the army by the conscription of Moslems and Christians on the same terms. They are trying to introduce such material improvements as will add to the prosperity of the country and at the same time familiarize the people with the discoveries and inventions of modern times.

These are all wise and liberal measures, but it will be long generations perhaps, before they can have much influence over the masses of the people. It is only a little more than a year since the government passed under the control of the Young Turks and it is only in Constantinople and some of the larger cities that we can find any evidence of the impression which they have made upon the Moslem population and the religious hierarchy. Even in these cities the conflict with the Greeks, political complications with foreign powers and financial questions have absorbed the attention of the people, so that we have very few accomplished facts to depend upon in forming any judgment as to the probable influence of the revolution upon the faith of Islam even in the Turkish Empire. We cannot be certain that the political result will be permanent, whether the present government will continue to control the army and thus maintain its power or what would follow if it is overthrown. There are both reactionary and radical conspiracies against it, but certain changes have already taken place in the minds of intelligent Moslems which are important and probably will be permanent. They realize as never before that some sort of reform on modern lines must be attempted if Islam is to regain its political influence in the world, that it must adapt itself to the progressive civilization of Europe and America. There is a new appreciation of the necessity of a general education of the people and a higher education for those who are to be leaders. This feeling has been growing for fifty years, but it has been raised to a conviction by the revolution. Not only is the government doing everything in its power to found schools, but the foreign Christian

schools and colleges are crowded with Moslem students sent to them and paid for by their parents.

Another and equally striking change is the readiness to emancipate woman from the low place which she holds in the teaching of the Koran and the traditions, and give her a position similar to that which she holds in Christian society. Women took an active and important part in the revolution and the Young Turks have laid stress upon the fact that the education and general elevation of women is essential to the existence of free government and social regeneration. One of the most extraordinary events which has happened in Constantinople during the past year related to two Princesses, nieces of Abd-ul-Hamid, They were sent from Salonica by the Ex-Sultan to be married and husbands were assigned to them in the usual fashion. They refused to submit to this and sent a protest to the Turkish newspapers against this invasion of the rights of woman. It was published, with the result that the Princesses were allowed to select their husbands.

The American College for Girls has become a center of enlightenment, not only for its students, some of whom are supported by the Government, but also for Turkish women who come in crowds to listen to lectures on hygiene and other practical questions. Some very able articles have appeared in the newspapers written by Moslem women on their rights and duties.

The women of Constantinople have, in general, shown much wisdom in adapting themselves to the new order of things. They have boldly asserted their rights, but they have avoided any such abandonment of the social conventionalities of Turkish life as would shock the less intelligent Moslems.

If this new awakening of the women themselves and the general feeling among leading men of the necessity of educating and elevating the women goes on, it must end in the abandonment of polygamy, slavery and the present laws of divorce.

It is not easy to judge how far the Moslems have accepted the liberal principles of the Constitution, which recognize

the full equality of Moslems and Christians, with freedom of the press, freedom of speech and religious freedom for all. For the fanatical masses these principles mean nothing. For them the Christian is still a dog, a pig, an infidel destined to hell fire in the world to come, but in the cities there are evidences of change, in the Parliament the Christian members had nothing to complain of, and in the life of the people there has been more of mutual respect and friendly relationship. Large numbers of Moslems have attended special services in Christian churches, they have united with Christians and Jews in mixed political organizations. Even in the present bitter conflict with the Greeks, the Turkish press does not abuse them as Christians, but confines itself to the political questions involved in the controversy.

A few months since a friend of mine who could speak some Turkish visited Constantinople and had an experience there which might have cost him his life a few years ago. He went to one of the great mosques just at the time of the noon prayers and, at the invitation of an Imam, he joined the line of worshippers and remained there through the whole service. He was treated with the greatest respect and not one of the motley crowd manifested any ill-feeling at his presence there.

The wild enthusiasm of which we heard so much two years ago, with its picturesque fraternizing of Imams and priests, has of course passed away. It was prompted by the escape of all alike from the terrible tyranny of Abd-ul-Hamid, but I hear of many instances of friendly relations and even of amicable religious discussions between Moslems and Christians in different parts of the country. There is certainly some softening of the fanatical and contemptuous spirit with which Moslems have been accustomed to treat the Christians, something more than a mere recognition of their legal rights under the Constitution.

All of these changes in Turkey, the new desire for modern education, the movement for the emancipation of women, the recognition of the rights of Christians and the more liberal and kindly feeling for them are the direct results of the political changes brought about by the revolution.

How far these changes will permanently modify the spirit of Islam in Turkey will depend upon the success of the Young Turks in maintaining their power and carrying out their principles. If they fail a violent reaction is possible.

It is too soon to form any definite opinion as to the influence of the Turkish revolution upon Moslems in other parts of the world. The Turkish race has never had much influence over the religious thought of the Mohammedan world. The Sultan is only a self-appointed, *defacto* Caliph and has no such authority as the Pope of Rome, to determine the dogmas or the forms of religion. The only results of the revolution which have thus far appeared have been rather political than religious. In Egypt and Algiers the people have been excited by what they have heard of the change in Turkey, but these political movements have not attracted the sympathy of the Young Turks. It is not for their interest to put an end to English and French rule in North Africa or to do anything to increase the influence of the Arabs.

The revolution in Persia, the land of endless religious unrest, preceded that in Turkey and no one can foresee what its influence will be upon the Shiite branch of Islam, or how far it may be influenced by the movement in Turkey. The most interesting religious movement in Persia is the progress of what is known as Bahaism which has won many converts not only in Persia but even in Europe and the United States. It claims to be a world religion which is to reform Christianity as well as Mohammedanism.

It is in India that we find the most important Moslem community in the world. There are more than sixty million there under British rule. They are of many races and of various degrees of civilization but welded together by their common faith in Islam.

As a rule they are not fanatical or aggressive against Christianity. Their hostility is chiefly directed against the idolatrous Hindus. They have long been loyal to the English government and the present threatening attitude of the Hindus has rather strengthened their loyalty. It seems certain that they are to play a more important part in India

than they have at any time since it came under English rule, and their leaders, some of whom are highly educated and distinguished men, are realizing, as never before, that their people must shake off the conservative complacency of Islamism and wake up to the progress of the world if they are to hold their own against the Hindus.

The revolution in Turkey has come in good time to strengthen the hands of these reformers, and it is possible that the reform movement in India may be more radical than in Turkey.

There is one other question which, as Christians, we cannot fail to ask. Will the Turkish revolution and the general awakening of the Mohammedan world to a sense of its political weakness and its need of reform incline Moslems to abandon Islam and accept the Christian faith? I think that I have already made it clear that every Moslem would unhesitatingly answer this question in the negative. I am of the same opinion. These movements will have no such *direct* influence. *Indirectly* they are likely to bring Moslems to a better knowledge of their own religion and to open the way for them to learn what Christianity is. Most Moslems have a very imperfect knowledge of the character of the Prophet or the teaching of the Koran. They assign to him offices and qualities which he never claimed for himself, such as sinlessness, pre-existence, the working of miracles, the office of mediator between God and man. They accept the one great truth which he proclaimed of our responsibility to one omnipresent, omnipotent God, but on the other side the religion of most of them is terribly human and accommodates itself to the passions of men.

It is true that Christians as well as Moslems have tortured and massacred their fellow-men in the name of God, and there is no Moslem atrocity which could not be matched in Christian history, but there is this essential difference, no justification for unrighteousness of any kind can be found in the life or teaching of Jesus Christ. No excuse for any of the crimes which are so common in Christian lands. While the Moslem, on the other hand, is always ready to find an excuse for his evil deeds in the acts of the Prophet himself,

as well as in the teaching of the Traditions. The most essential difference in the two religions is that the Christian finds his ideal in Jesus Christ while the Moslem finds his in Mohammed,

Very few Moslems have read the New Testament or know anything of Christ except the laudatory but incorrect references to him in the Koran. Their ideas of Christian doctrine are imperfect and often absurd, as for example, their belief that the three persons of the Christian Trinity are God, Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary. Unfortunately their acquaintance with Christians has done nothing to convince them of the superiority of Christianity as a practical religion. They have failed to learn from their relations with the Oriental churches and from their contact with Christian Powers that Christianity teaches a purer morality than Mohammedanism. The more intelligent of them are ready to recognize the material and intellectual progress of the Christian nations and to adapt their religion to it, but of the true spirit of Christianity they know but little, and they are not likely to learn much about it unless it is represented to them as it was represented to the Japanese by Christian Missionaries. Moslems are generally ready to discuss religious questions in a friendly way. In fact it is easier for them to talk about religion than anything else, it occupies so large a place in their lives. They have no objection to reading the Holy Scriptures. Many copies are sold to them every year. We had evidence a few years ago that they were also ready to read controversial treatises. A large consignment of a famous attack upon Mohammedanism in the Turkish language was seized and confiscated in the Constantinople Custom House. The books were not destroyed and one by one they were carried off by Moslems until in a short time they were all in circulation and were a subject of general discussion. But it is not by controversy or by attack of any kind that Moslems are to be brought to such a knowledge of the spirit of Christianity as will lead them to see in Jesus Christ the Divine Savior of the world. They must see His life reflected in the lives of those who represent Him and learn from a comparison of

the Koran with the Gospels that whatever of truth there is in Islam, it is in Christ rather than in the Prophet of Mecca that we find the way, the truth and the life.

It is not to be supposed that the Mohammedan world will welcome the coming of Christian Missionaries. However much it may appreciate the material progress of Christendom, it has no desire to be converted to Christianity; but Islam is itself a missionary faith which sends its missionaries to the ends of the earth, and intelligent Moslems need not be surprised or offended if we take advantage of their present awakening to send missionaries to present to them the claims of Christianity to be the one true faith.

The European Powers in their own political interest have hastened to offer to Turkey their sympathy and material support. England has loaned them an Admiral to reform their navy. Germany has sent generals to discipline their army. Italy, officers to organize their police, and France experienced officials to regulate their finance. American capitalists are preparing to spend millions to build their railways. I believe that the more thoughtful Moslems would think it strange if the Christian Church, with its mission to carry the Gospel of Christ to all nations, did not improve this opportunity to offer them their spiritual aid in leading them to a better knowledge of Divine truth.



## PERSONAL EXPERIENCE IN TURKISH MASSACRES AND RELIEF WORK

*By F. D. Shepard, M. D., of Aintab, Turkey*

For several years preceding the massacre of 1895, the Armenians had been growing restive under the growing exactions of Abdul Hamid, and were pressing in all legitimate ways for the execution of the reforms promised in the treaty of Berlin. Great Britain had been the especial sponsor for Turkey, had taken Cyprus as a guarantee that these reforms should be carried out, and in response to the Armenian appeal, brought considerable diplomatic pressure to bear upon the Ottoman Government. Until July 24, 1908, "Abdul Hamid" and "the Ottoman Government," were synonymous terms. In the meantime there was a small minority among the Armenians, mostly hot-headed, ignorant young men, led by a few Russian Armenians, bred in the school of Russian nihilism and terrorism, who were carrying on a vigorous propaganda of revolutionary ideas. This movement centered in a secret society known as the Hunchagists, who made America and Europe their base of operations, from whence they sent into Turkey their literature and emissaries. Abdul Hamid, through his well nigh perfect system of espionage, knew all the secrets of the revolutionists, and was more than a match for the diplomats. His reply to the increasing pressure from without and the increasing unrest within was, like that of Pharaoh of old, to add to the burdens. The already burdensome taxes were exacted with unexampled rigor; the censorship of the press, the general espionage and the exasperating passport system were put into more efficient operation; and the lawless Kurds were permitted or encouraged to prey upon their poor Armenian neighbors more freely than before. Here was a vicious circle. The more the poor Armenian strove to rise,

the more pressure Abdul Hamid applied; and the greater the pressure, the more vigorous the struggle.

Finally in 1895, the British Government, finding all its persuasion futile, came to the point of issuing an ultimatum, with its Mediterranean fleet at Mitylene to enforce its demands. For several days the Turk expected to see each morning when he woke, the British fleet in the Bosphorus. Before the inertia of the Triple Alliance, and the covert threats of Germany and Russia, England faltered, the day of opportunity passed, Lord Rosebury gave place to the cynical Salisbury; and Abdul Hamid breathed freely once more. During this time the revolutionary propaganda had made some progress, and when the leaders of the nation (as the Armenians still call themselves) who had all along thrown their influence against the Hunchagists, saw all their hopes of foreign intervention come to naught, some of them went over to the revolutionists and others became lukewarm in their opposition, although any one with half an eye could see that the schemes of the Hunchagists were utterly foolish and impracticable. But the situation was desperate, and no one else had a programme. The Hunchagists did not hesitate to use terrorism, even resorting to the assassination of some of their brethren who opposed them; and so for a time they were the predominating influence among the Armenians in Turkey.

This was the state of things when I returned from my vacation in the autumn of 1895. During the summer three revolutionary emissaries had passed through Aintab, preaching an immediate uprising, and attempting to levy funds for the same. They had been given a hearing, but little more, only one timid man contributing to their exchequer. They passed on to Marash and Zeitoon, and we heard alarming rumors of their success in that region. One of the leading pastors of the Protestant Armenian community, at considerable risk to himself, went with me to Marash in the attempt to dissuade the foolish people from any idea of an armed uprising. We assembled some twenty leading men from the different Armenian communities, and tried to reason with them; but they were carried away with

their revolutionary schemes and would listen to no one. When the storm they raised blew over there were but two of that score of men alive.

Early in October the people of Zietoon, a mountain town of seven or eight thousand inhabitants, fifteen hours north of Marash, rose in rebellion, and captured the Turkish garrison of 500 soldiers, and then attacked the surrounding Moslem villages. By this stroke they at the same time secured arms and ammunition for themselves, and gave Abdul Hamid the excuse for which he was apparently waiting. Exaggerated stories of the atrocities committed by the Zeitoonlis filled the Turkish newspapers, to be repeated and again exaggerated, till every village in the empire was filled with them. Moslem fanaticism and Osmanli patriotism were both aroused, and when the reserves were called out, the men put on their uniforms and joined the colors with more than ordinary alacrity. The warlike Zeitoonli must be subdued, but Abdul Hamid knew a trick worth two of that. And wherever there was a prosperous Armenian community, did he let loose upon them his soldiery? Oh no! He was too astute for that. He let loose upon them the mob, the Kurd and the fanatic Turk, inflamed with lies about Armenian atrocities, and filled with lust for loot, for women and for blood. Who should call him to account for mob violence? Do not mobs arise in all countries? To be sure these mobs were sometimes rather orderly mobs; they often began operations at the signal of a bugle blown at the barracks, and they sometimes ceased operations at the same signal. There seemed to be method in the madness.

The massacre at Aintab was not a typical one, but as it was the only one I witnessed I will describe it. It was about seven o'clock Saturday morning, November 16, 1895. We were at breakfast when the servants rushed in with terror-stricken faces, crying out that a massacre had broken out in the city. Our house is on the college campus, a half mile outside the city. I stepped to the door and the air was filled with horrid clamor, the shrieks of women, the sound of firearms, shoutings of men, the crashing of breaking doors and windows, the shrill ullulation of the Moslem

women cheering their men on to the loot and slaughter, all combined to make a very pandemonium. Our Girls' Boarding School and Hospital are in the edge of the city and my first thought was for our four missionary ladies living there. My horse stood saddled at the door, and I at once rode to the Girls School, passing through a crowd of Kurds armed with guns, axes, clubs, and butcher-knives, who were swarming out of their quarter of the city to attack their Armenian neighbors. One of them whom I knew well motioned me to get along, but no one spoke to me. At the school Miss Foreman had gathered the white-faced terrified girls about her in prayer, and across the street at the hospital, I found Dr. Hamilton and Miss Trowbridge quietly doing the routine work of the wards, although the native nurses were in great fear and distress for their friends in the city. In Aintab most of the Christians live in two separate wards, with heavy gates shutting them off from the rest of the city. The massacre began so early that many of the people had not yet left their homes for business, and many who were on their way were able to turn back before the heavy gates which kept out the mob were shut. One of these gates was in sight from the hospital windows and I watched its defense for a little. Upon the flat roofs adjoining the gate was a small company of men and women, the latter busy bringing stones, and whenever the mob made a rush for the gate, it was met by a fusilade of stones and gun shots which drove it back again. I was surprised to see no wounded carried away, but later I learned there were no wounded, because those with guns had fired purposely over the heads of their assailants. After a half hour I returned to the school, and found that Mr. Sanders had come over from the college soon after I did. He had seen the head of a column of soldiers marching out of the city toward the college. Just then a mob rushed up the street between school and hospital, and with loud outcries attacked the hospital gate. My impulse was to confront them and reason with them, and as I opened the gate to do so, I found our nearest neighbor, a burly Turk, Hadge Hussein Agha, standing in the hospital gate holding the mob at bay, and protesting that no one should enter

there except over his dead body. What the outcome would have been I cannot say, for just then a detachment of soldiers came along and scattered the crowd. They passed on without leaving the guard for our premises which I demanded of them. A few Armenians fled to the hospital and girls school for refuge, and were taken in. The gates to the Armenian quarters were not forced, principally because the mob abandoned them to take part in the looting of shops and warehouses in the market. At noon the bugle sounded and the attack promptly ceased, although the looting of the market went on into the night. During the night two distilleries and the houses of two or three especially obnoxious Armenians were burned.

At two o'clock in the afternoon I returned to the college, leaving Mr. Sanders at the school. There was a cordon of soldiers drawn between the city and college. They permitted me to pass, but would not allow me to return, and for several days no natives were allowed to go to or from the college. Seventeen hundred and fifty-four shops and stores were looted, and when the Sabbath sun arose, 282 dead bodies lay in the streets. In general, however, there seems to have been little desire to kill. This is seen from the fact that there were about 1500 men and boys caught in the market at the mercy of the mob, who were not killed but imprisoned in two large khans. When I attempted to go to the city in the morning, the captain in command of the soldiers said his orders were absolute to allow no one to pass, and when I insisted he placed me in charge of a squad of soldiers with drawn bayonets, and escorted me back to the college. That day was one of the most trying of my life. I was condemned to inactivity, when I knew there were many wounded needing my services, many of my friends in terror, in despair, in mourning for their dead, and I shut away from them. By nine o'clock the hills about the city were covered by armed Kurdish and Turkish villagers, who were kept out by the soldiers. By noon this crowd had multiplied to several thousand, and was giving the soldiers much trouble. From the top of the college tower, with my field-glass, I saw the mob break through the cordon and rush

into the nearest quarter of the city, whence arose a horrible confusion of sound. In a very few minutes there appeared a Turkish officer on a white horse, who, with sword and pistol, drove the mob pell mell out of the city and a long way into the fields. The Christian houses thus attacked were outside the regular Armenian quarter, and near the hospital. Hadge Hussein Agha, our Turkish friend before mentioned, with his servants and neighbors, gathered up and brought into the hospital the wounded left by this little inroad, 16 in number. Dr. Caroline Hamilton did what was necessary for them, among other things amputating a thigh. One of the first cases brought in was an old man with the back of his head laid open with an ax, so that the skull gaped an inch or so, showing the throbbing brain. Dr. Hamilton glanced at him and said, "that is a hopeless case, lay him down there." When the others were all done she examined the old man, and finding him still alive, drew the wound together with a bandage, and adjusting an antiseptic dressing gave him a bed. The old man's wound healed by first intention, and he was the first one of the lot to leave the hospital.

Monday morning, chafing to get into the city, I again sallied forth and was met by the same command to return to the college. This I refused to do, saying to the captain I refused to recognize his authority, that I would go to his superior officer if he chose to send me but I would not go back to the college. Apparently willing to shift the responsibility, he gave me in charge of three soldiers with orders to take me to the Mir Alai (commander-in-chief). I purposely took them (they were strangers in Aintab) a rather round-about way, and saw many dead still in the streets. I found the Mir Alai a white haired, benevolent looking man, in company with the Kaimakam and the leading men of the place, at the house of one of the local Beys. I asked who was in authority and was referred to the Mir Alai, who had arrived the day after the massacre, and who, as the sequel proved, was a good man. I addressed myself to him and asked permission to gather up the wounded and take them to the hospital; and also to collect and bury the dead. He

readily granted the permission and a guard to protect those engaged in the work. He also offered to station a guard of soldiers at the hospital and girls school. These offers I accepted, rather as a matter of policy than because I felt that there was need of the guard. With a small squad of soldiers and a sergeant placed under my orders by the Mir Alai, I started back, calling on the way upon my first assistant, Dr. H. K. Nazarian, and the heads of the various Christian communities. By the time I reached the hospital the wounded had begun to come in. Such a mangled mass of humanity you never saw. Five to ten wounds upon one individual was common, and in several cases twenty wounds were borne upon one poor human body. There were 54 of them brought in that day, and it was late at night before we had them all cared for. A few of the wounds were caused by gunshot, but most of them by knives, clubs and axes. The most fatal of all were the terrible fractures of the skull made by heavy clubs. From the medical standpoint some of these cases were of great interest, but I cannot dwell on that. Suffice it to say that out of the 72 wounded treated at the hospital, there were 16 deaths. When the character of the cases and the fact that they were all infected when they came to us is taken into the account, that was not bad.

A plot to kill all the 1500 men imprisoned in the Khans was frustrated by the governor, who was not bloodthirsty.

Every day or two we had news of a massacre elsewhere. Aintab got off lightly with only 300 killed, among them hardly a man of note. Marash lost 1200, and scarcely a leading man was left alive among either the Gregorian or Protestant Armenians. At Oorfah over 6000 were killed. There were 1500 widows left in that city, and had it not been for the heroic exertions of Miss Corrina Shattuck, most of them would have perished from starvation or worse.

At Aintab the mob was not satisfied with its meagre success, and made repeated attempts at renewed massacre, but was frustrated by the military. For three months the Christians were unable to open their shops or do any business in the market. Some sixty of their leading men were

arrested on false charges of murder, arson, treason, etc., and kept in prison in Aleppo for six months. They were finally released only on the payment of heavy bribes. So that after all Aintab made up, in part, for its short death-roll, by impoverishment and long-continued terror and suspense. Let me relate an incident of those days. I was going along the street with my soldier (it was long unsafe to go unguarded) one day, when I heard wailing in the house of my friend Jurje Effendi Chamikjian. I knocked at the door and upon gaining entrance found all the family gathered in great distress about the father. They told me that the night before, their nearest neighbor, a powerful Bey, had called Jurje Effendi and told him that he must become a Moslem, otherwise he would be thrown into prison in Aleppo, his property be confiscated, unspeakable things befall his wife and daughters. Telling him to go to prison by all means, since at that juncture the prison was the safest place for an Armenian in the Aleppo Vilayet, that I would protect his wife and daughters from the Bey, I comforted them as best I could, and left them somewhat cheered. Going at once to the Mir Alai with the story, he assured me that the Bey would not be allowed to carry out any of his nefarious schemes. He immediately called the Bey and threatened him in such wise that the Bey gave up that line of action, and Jurje Effendi went to prison with a light heart.

Meantime the *war* around Zeitoon went slowly on. It was apparently not Abdul Hamid's policy to bring that to a close until the massacres were finished. To be sure it was winter, and the mountain roads were deep in snow, but by February, when the European powers interfered and arranged a capitulation, there were no less than 34, or parts of 34 regiments of soldiers half starving and freezing in the mountains, in the attempt to conquer about 500 men. The British, Russian, French and Italian Consuls from Aleppo, and Edhem Pasha on the part of the Turkish Government were sent to Zeitoon to see the capitulations carried out. A few days later I received a telegram from one of the two physicians in Marash, asking me to come to him as he had Typhus fever. I replied that I could not leave Aintab.



The next day I had an identical message from the other Marash physician. As they were the only medical men in that large city (both of them my friends and former pupils) I decided to go. The Governor refused me an escort, so I applied to the Mir Alai, who said he had no cavalry but would give me two foot-soldiers if I could furnish mounts. I took two of the four soldiers who had been stationed on our premises for some time, and whom I could trust, mounted them on our own horses and set forth. Just as I was starting a telegram was handed me from Mr. Barnham, the British consul at Zeitoon, saying "Epidemic of Typhus, 50 deaths a day, can Dr. Shepard come at once?" I replied, "Enroute to Marash; write me there." After reaching Marash, I telegraphed Miss Clara Barton at Constantinople, setting forth the situation and asking the Red Cross to finance a medical relief expedition from Beirut; and telegraphed to Dr. Geo. E. Post of Beirut, asking him to organize an expedition of two physicians with necessary assistants, supplies, etc., and call on Miss Clara Barton for funds. I telegraphed Aintab for an assistant, medicines and surgical supplies, and meantime I gathered such meagre supplies as could be found in Marash.

The next morning before daylight I set out on horseback with two mounted soldiers. We climbed steadily up the mountain, and were soon in deep snow. The road, everywhere difficult, was in many places almost impassable, and the roadside was strewn with the carcasses of camels, mules and horses. We passed long strings of pack animals laden with food for the army, or for the starving in Zeitoon. It was long after dark when we were halted by a sentry, turned over to the officer of patrol and passed on to headquarters. Edhem Pasha not only received me cordially and made me his guest, but throughout my stay he did everything in his power to facilitate our relief work. I was soon called to dinner, and found quite a company at table, Edhem Pasha with five or six of his staff, the four consuls and their secretaries, Mr. Macallum and myself. Turkish and French were the languages most spoken, with English, Russian, Italian and Circassian in abundant evidence, and now and then a few sentences in Arabic.

Early in the morning Mr. Macallum and I rode into Zeitoon, about a mile from the Turkish headquarters. The town of Zeitoon is built, one house above another, the flat mud roof of one house often serving as the dooryard of the next one above, upon the steep sides of a promontory. The houses are built of wood, and a torch applied to one in the lower tier would burn them all like a box of kindling. The place is commanded from the nearby hills on three sides, its only military advantage being its inaccessibility because of the bad mountain trails. At that time the place had about 7000 inhabitants, and there had fled to it from other Armenian villages of the Taurus mountains some 14,000 refugees. The siege had been sufficiently close for three months to prevent the bringing in of food, and for the last few weeks the place had been under moderately close-range rifle fire day and night. The dead were buried in the cellars, and some of them lay with the unburied carcasses of dead animals in the streets. Typhus and dysentery found a good soil, and were carrying off 45 to 50 a day. The day before my arrival they had buried 54. Mr. Macallum and Consul Barnham were engaged in feeding the starving, and in view of my coming had improvised a hospital of 60 beds. A large schoolroom had been cleaned, and sacks filled with chopped straw, each provided with a warm cotton quilt, laid on the floor. Primitive enough, but compared with the stable, or fireless out-house, from which many of our patients came, it was luxury. And before night the 60 beds were filled with emaciated patients, mostly dysentery cases. During the day I saw some 200 fever cases, and estimated that there were at least 2000 people down with it. I found 14 in one room. They seemed to fear nothing so much as a breath of outside air. But the houses all had broad verandahs, and despite the appeals of the patients, and the frantic protests of the old women, I had them all carried out on to the verandahs. The effect was little less than miraculous. The open air and a little acid drink was the only treatment used in most cases, and in less than a week the mortality fell from 45 to 50 to 4 or 5 a day, and the 4 or 5 were mostly dysentery cases. We turned a moun-

tain stream into the streets at the upper end of town, and with a gang of men with hoes and brooms to help things along, we gave the place such a cleaning as it had never before seen. Consul Barnham, his dragoman and kavass all contracted the fever. Mr. Macallum and I escaped it, although more exposed than they. The soldiery were not allowed to visit the town, and escaped the fever, but their condition was very trying. The snow was deep, the weather cold, their food and clothing scanty, and shelter very inadequate. There were 21 men to each tent, a circular tent 12 feet in diameter. Still they were cheerful, obedient and polite. I spent 33 days in Zeitoon, and met the relief expedition from Beirut at Marash on my way out. I should have gone back sooner, but remained with Consul Barnham until he was able to travel.

During the six months, October to March, there were about 100,000 Armenians slaughtered, most of them males. A conservative estimate places the number of women and children who perished from deprivation and disease as a direct result of these massacres at another 100,000, *i.e.*, out of 2,000,000 people, 200,000 or one in ten were destroyed. There were thousands of orphans, only part of whom the impoverished Armenians were able to support, and in caring for these, English, Swiss, and German friends came to the help of the American missionaries. A good many young Armenians fled to America or Europe, and for some months doubt and despair prevailed. But with admirable courage they soon set themselves to repair the waste places. And in fifteen years they have nearly or quite made good their financial losses.

The Vilayet of Adana was the only province containing a considerable Armenian population which in 1895 escaped the besom of destruction. And upon the promulgation of the constitution in 1908, it was the most prosperous province of the Empire, thus indirectly showing, perhaps, the damage done in other regions. Alas, this fair province was not to escape its baptism of fire and blood. The massacre of 1895-96 was arranged and ordered by the central government at Constantinople; but that was not the case with the Adana

massacre, so far as I have been able to ascertain. It seems to have been a spontaneous local outbreak, and its only connection with Abdul Hamid was that, when the reactionaries got the welcome news that he was again in the saddle, they thought that by a massacre of Armenians they could feed fat their ancient grudge, enrich themselves, and at the same time ingratiate themselves with the Sultan. The matter had been brewing from the day when "equality" was coupled with "liberty and fraternity" on the banner of the "Young Turks." What! equality with Armenians? We will see about that some fine day was about how the matter stood in the mind of the "Old Turk." The Armenians, intoxicated with the new wine of liberty, often gave offense by wild talk or arrogant behavior. The Bishop of Adana openly advised his people to arm themselves, and many of the young men purchased arms and ostentatiously carried them. The ignorant and fanatical Mohammedan population only too readily believed the exaggerated reports that were circulated about the treasonable designs of the Armenians; and so all things were ready when the news came that Abdul Hamid had seized the reins and was again in full power. The "Old Turk" said to himself: "Lo, all things are as they were of old and ever shall be. Please God, we will teach these upstarts a lesson of equality, and incidentally get unto ourselves much goods and many fair women." There was anarchy at Constantinople, and so no interference with the plan.

The annual meeting of the Central Turkey Mission was in session in Adana, and the delegates to the meeting of the Ecclesiastical Union of the Evangelical Armenian Churches of our region were en route to Adana, when the storm broke without warning, April 14. It was Wednesday morning. The immediate occasion was a fight between a drunken Armenian and two worthless Turks, one of the latter having been killed. The Vali and the military commander were incompetent or more likely in league with the mob, which met with no opposition from the authorities. Many Armenians were armed and made a stout resistance. They took up good positions commanding those streets leading to

the Armenian quarter of the city, and held their own pretty well through the day, although many were caught unaware in the market and slain before they could escape, and the many living out in the vineyards and gardens were all killed. But at night the Turks began to fire the houses and shops of the Armenians. Thursday morning the attack was renewed with vigor, and during this day nearly the whole Armenian quarter was burned and looted. Thursday while fighting the fire which threatened the American Girls' School, where the American missionaries, together with a large number of Armenian women and children, were gathered, the two American missionaries, Rogers and Maurer, were shot and almost instantly killed. The shots were fired by Turkish looters from a house just across the street, a few yards away. Major Doughty Wylie, British vice-consul at Mersine, the seaport of Adana, came up on a special train Wednesday evening and made an heroic attempt to stop the massacre. With a small escort of Turkish soldiers he patrolled the streets, and while doing so had his right arm broken by a bullet. On Friday a truce was obtained, and when a few days later a regiment of regular troops arrived, every one breathed more freely; but the officers of this regiment were deceived into believing that the Armenians were the aggressors, and when a party of Turks disguised as Armenians fired upon the soldiers, they attacked the Armenians while in church on Sunday, burned the large church and Armenian school and the premises of the Jesuit Fraternity, where many Armenians had found asylum. This second massacre, while lasting only a short time, destroyed more lives than the former one, and had a far more depressing effect upon the people, who said, if the soldiers of the new régime, "soldiers of liberty," destroy us, then are we indeed undone.

As soon as telegraphic news of what was going on in Adana reached adjoining towns and cities, the bloody work was taken up and carried on. Missis, Hamidieh and Osmanieh on Thursday; Baghche and Haroni on Friday; Hassan Beyli on Saturday was the way it went. Two large towns wholly Armenian, Hadgin and Deort Yol, were able to defend

themselves until the Government sent soldiers to protect them.

We in Aintab had for several days heard rumors of trouble in Adana, but our first positive news was a telegram received on Sunday, April 17th, which read, "Rodgers and Maurer murdered, all other Americans safe." On Tuesday the Turkish muleteer who had gone with the Aintab delegate for Adana, returned and reported that they had all been killed at Osmanieh. A day or two later refugees from Hassan Beyli came in with news of the terrible massacre in that mountain region. I was eager to get away to the assistance of the poor people in the Hassan Beyli district, but Aintab was in such a critical state that the friends, both native and foreign, protested against my leaving. But when the news of Abdul Hamid's downfall reached us, I made hasty preparations, and with one gendarme for escort, left the next day, April 30. The following day I reached Islahia, a small Kaza in the Adana Vilayet. (A vilayet is a province ruled by a Vali or governor-general; this is usually, for convenience of administration, subdivided into Sanjaks. The governor of a sanjak is called a Mutessariff. The sanjak is again subdivided into Kazas, and the governor of a Kaza is a Kaimakam.) This place had escaped massacre through the exertions of one man, Hadge Mohammed Agha, a wealthy Turk, who had for years been an officer of gendarmerie, and is known as Hadge Chaoush. Islahia is a small place on the plain, malarious and unwholesome, and has only a few Armenian traders among its inhabitants. Among its many villages there are three whose people are mostly Armenians. There was not the slightest friction between Moslem and Christian in this Kaza, but the Mufti of Baghche, a neighboring Kaza, had written letters to the leading Moslems of Islahia and the surrounding region, setting forth the great Armenian uprising, and calling on all good Moslems and patriotic Osmanlis by everything holy to arm and come to their help. The next day he sent more urgent letters, saying they were actually attacked, their houses being burned, their women ravished, and their children carried into captivity; for God's sake to come quickly. The

Armenians in the outside villages of Keller and Intirli had been harried, their houses burned, many of the men killed, and those who had escaped had found refuge in Islahia when it was determined to kill them there. The Kadi had publicly prayed for a blessing on the undertaking, and at the head of the mob was advancing to attack the poor refugees who had sought asylum in the Government house and the Mosque, when, Martini in hand, old Hadge Chaoush confronted them. He told them in vigorous Turkish, no language better adapted to the purpose, what he thought of them and then called for any friends of his to stand by him. His son, three or four trusty henchmen, and the Kaimakam ranged themselves beside him. Then he said, "You off-scourings who call yourselves Moslems but neither respect the law nor fear God, do you clamor for blood? You shall have it. We will fire upon you as soon as we can load our guns." He threw a cartridge into his Martini, and knowing him of old, they scattered like a covey of partridges.

There were about 400 refugees in the place. Hadge Chaoush had 80 women and children in his house. The Government was giving them a daily ration of good bread in sufficient quantity, but they did not dare to return to their burned houses, and were crowded together in the Mosque, dirty and vermin-infested, some of them wounded and some ill. I gave them such medical care as I could, listened to their tales of horror, comforted and advised them. Many of their young women were still in the hands of their enemies. I saw the Kaimakam and was able to make him see that it was to his interest to take active measures for the recovery of the women and girls. In fact two were brought in that night and another the next morning before I left. By bringing pressure to bear through the British consul in Adana, and Mr. Peet in Constantinople, within ten days all the young women who had been carried off by Kurds and Turks were returned to their friends. One of the girls in the house of Hadge Chaoush, who was teacher of the girls' school at Hassan Beyli, an Aintab girl of good family, had been carried off by a Kurd; a Circassian had forcibly taken her from the Kurd; and then the son of Hadge Chaoush with his retainers had rescued her.

The next morning I left for Baghche, the seat of Government for the Hassan Beyli region, visiting the burned villages of Keller and Intirli on the way, and reaching Baghche a little before sunset. Before leaving Aintab, I had telegraphed the British consul at Adana, telling of my going to Baghche, and asking that he secure orders from the local Government to facilitate my relief work. This he did, and under the peculiar conditions found there, it was a great help.

Baghche in a long narrow valley on the seaward side of the Amanus mountains, is a village of about 250 houses. The valley leads up to the lowest pass over the range, and so has been chosen as the route of the Baghdad R. R. At the time of the massacre there was a party of German engineers in the place, who had spent the winter there. The other important places of the Kaza are Hassan Beyli, 425 houses, two and a half hours to the South; Lapazhli, 125 houses, 1 hour West; and Haroni with its 150 houses, lying at the edge of a large fertile plain, 4 hours to the West. About one half the inhabitants of Baghche were Moslems, Turks. The other places named being nearly all Armenian. The many small villages are all Mohammedan, the Kaza having about 6500 or 7000 Moslem and 5500 Christian population. The Mohammedans are agriculturists and officials, the Christians comprise all the artisans and traders and a good many of them are also agriculturists. Silk-raising was the principal industry at Hassan Beyli. This and Haroni were both beautiful and prosperous towns. There was in each a strong self-supporting Protestant church, with good schools. In short, these were progressive people, living in peace and harmony with their Mohammedan neighbors.

Thursday, April 15, rumors of the massacre at Adana reached Baghche, but the Mufti and the Kaimakam assured the people that whatever happened elsewhere, there would be no trouble there. The Kaimakam in good faith, the Mufti in treachery, he being then engaged in sending out urgent messages calling the hordes to the slaughter. Friday morning armed villagers appeared upon the neighboring



hills. The Kaimakam sent zabtiehs to disperse them, but instead of dispersing they approached the town, and when the Kaimakam confronted them, they threatened to shoot him, his zabtiehs refused to obey him, and he found himself betrayed and helpless. The mob entered the town and was joined by nearly all the Government officials, the zabtiehs and the Moslem inhabitants of the place in the work of slaughter and loot. In one or two houses there was an attempt to defend themselves, but for the most part they threw themselves on the mercy of their Moslem neighbors, or fled to the houses of the German engineers, or the mosque for asylum. The Germans in the most heartless manner gave up those who had fled to them, and those few Moslems, who would willingly have saved a friend or two, were terrorized into giving them up. The Mufti ordered two of the leading men, from whom he had taken large bribes to protect them, taken out of the mosque and killed before him in the public square. He then executed a dance of joy and thanked God that he had been permitted to see such a day. The shops and houses were looted, and the latter burned, except those occupied by the Germans. The dead were thrown into the wells, and so the work was finished. Haroni, Intirli and Keller were massacred the same day; and then all joined forces, together with several hundred Kurds from Islahia who had responded to the Mufti's letters, and a crowd of Turks from Osmanieh who had helped themselves to military rifles and ammunition from the arsenal there. Having had ample warning, the Hassan Beyli people had thrown up some barricades across the roads, and occupying these and a couple of hilltops, they kept their assailants at bay for the whole day, Saturday. But toward night the numbers of the attacking force was greatly increased, and their possession of military rifles being understood, when the darkness fell, all the males, yielding to the entreaties of the women, fled to the mountains in an attempt to reach various places of safety. At daybreak they were pursued, and for days were hunted like partridges. Most of those who finally escaped found shelter at Fundajak, a large Armenian village near Marash, two days journey to the North. All their

houses were burned, and in many instances the walls dug down in search of buried treasure.

When I reached Baghche, fifteen days after the massacre, all the survivors of that place, men women and children, were crowded into the mosque, prisoners under military guard. And up to the time of my arrival (as I afterward learned) the plan was entertained of burning the mosque with them all in it. They were only waiting till the men of Hassan Beyli should be brought back from Fundajak to finish them all off together. The Hassan Beyli women and children, nearly 2000 of them, were packed into the Protestant chapel and school; and subjected to daily annoyance from ruffians who forced their way among them, searching for pleasing young women or girls, and taunting them with the destruction of all their men, and their dependence on Moslem charity. These poor creatures looked upon my coming as a direct answer to prayer, the first ray of light that had penetrated their darkness..

I found the Kaimakam to be an open-hearted, justice-loving, Arabic-speaking Turk from Jaffa; but young and inexperienced, and a good deal shaken by what he had been through. He was weak, and the results were as bad as though he had been ever so wicked. There were three other officials, all outsiders, the Mal Mudiri (comptroller), Nufus Mudiri (passport officer) and the head clerk in the department of taxes, who were good men and had had no part in the hellish work. But they had, partly because they were outsiders, too little influence to stem the tide, and the Mufti was still master of the situation.

There were thirty wounded among those in the mosque, and in the morning I dressed their wounds, and prescribed for the ill among them, using the rest of the day in obtaining information about the situation. There had been 780 houses burned, and nearly a thousand men and boys killed in the Baghche Kaza alone. A population of about 5000 to be fed and clothed, the Government of Baghche was giving a daily dole of four metallics (four cents) to each adult and two metallics to each child. With this they bought a black bread, which I could not eat,

barely enough to sustain life, and the women and children gathered herbs and roots in the mountains with which to eke it out. Some days the money was not given and they went hungry. The second night after my arrival the men who had fled to Fundajak were brought back by a guard of fifty soldiers; 217 were from Hassan Beyli and about fifty from other places.

It took only 48 hours to find out that my telegrams were not working, and presumably the post, which went only once a week, would not serve me any better; so I hired a special messenger at exorbitant rates, and sent him to Aintab with letters setting forth the situation, and asking the Aintab friends to telegraph Constantinople and Adana, and also to prepare such contributions of bedding, food, clothing, dishes, utensils, etc., as could be collected. A few days later I went to Aintab to hurry on these things, and to get into telegraphic touch with Mr. Peet, our treasurer, at Constantinople, and Consul Doughty Wylie in Adana. My four days in Aintab were busy enough, consulting with the relief committee, putting up medical supplies, performing surgical operations, etc. I got off a caravan of twenty-two mule loads for Baghche, and the next day, accompanied by Mrs. Shepard and one of our hospital staff, Dr. Phillip Hovnanian, started back, reaching Baghche after an absence of eight days.

I here quote part of a letter written from Hassan Beyli:

We climbed slowly up the pass, 1800 feet above Islahia where we had spent the night, wound around among the mountains well-wooded with oak, and reached Hassan Beyli in a shower of rain about noon. The blackened ruins were a sad sight. About a score of the former inhabitants were huddled together under such shelter as was afforded by a mulberry tree, and came down to the spring where we stopped for lunch. They told us that all the people were to be sent over from Baghche the next day, so I left our tents there. We left these poor people what food we had, and went on to Baghche. Here I found that during the eight days of my absence the 3000 refugees had received only eight metallics (about 8 cents) per capita, and were very hungry; also that sickness was increasing from the crowding and filth.

The newly appointed governor of the Sanjak was in Baghche and I spent most of the next day with him, giving him information of past events, present conditions, talking over plans for relief,

etc., and in the evening took a walk with him and the Kaimakam to see the ruined town, with its 135 burned houses and little groups of women and children (mostly widows and orphans) camped under trees or booths of branches. The Mutessariff is a cultured man from Monastir, recently sent to Adana as Commissioner of Education for the Province, and is profoundly stirred by all he has seen. I hope that, even trammelled as he is by Turkish red tape and an indifferent Vali, he may succeed in feeding these poor people till the harvest.

Friday morning after each had received 16 metallics and about a quart of wheat the Hassan Beyli people were sent to their village. The distance is about seven miles, and it was a most pitiful sight—a squad of twenty-five soldiers in front, then the poor things—mostly barefooted and in rags with little bundles of wheat or old clothes, old kerosene, tins for cooking pots, and here and there one with a bit of board on which to roll out their thin bread.

Our first caravan of twenty-two animals laden with clothing, implements, etc., got in Friday morning, just in time. I laid off five loads for Baghche, and used the five animals, and my own five (ten in all), to transport the sick or weak. Thursday a caravan of relief, mostly flour and clothing, came in from Marash. I sent them to Lapagcly and Haroni, as being in the most urgent need. There are about 1000 destitute people in those two places. In the latter no Government rations have been issued as yet. There is very little wheat in this vicinity, and the Government treasury empty. So I sent a reliable man with a Zabtieh (mounted gendarme) to buy wheat on the Haroni plain, hoping that the unladen animals of the Marash caravan could bring it back for us free of charge. There are no animals left in the hands of Christians, and Moslems demand exorbitant hire for theirs.

I had a conference with the poor people of Keller (an hour and a half from Islahia) made arrangements for distribution of relief there, and had a breakfast of thin bread and milk, at the house of the Bey. As usual a crowd of patients besieged me, and all along the road up through the straggling village, I was repeatedly halted to see the sick. I reached Hassan Beyli about 10:30 a.m. and found a big crowd about the tent where clothing, etc., was being distributed. While in general there was no appearance of Sabbath observance, still as I lay in my tent taking a little rest I could hear the sounds of scripture reading or of prayer arising from little groups of people gathered under the trees near their ruined houses. In many cases the only thing carried away when they fled was the beloved Bible. Monday morning I went to Baghche. I bought three loads of rice—all there was in Baghche—and just as I was about to return Miss Rohner and party returned from Haroni. They tell heart-rending tales of the conditions there. There are still many corpses lying in the streets and house-yards, being devoured by dogs and vultures, and the stench is unbearable. None of the survivors had yet visited the Christian part of the town since the massacre, but some of them accompanied the

German friends, and recognized the remains of their friends by the scraps of clothing still clinging to the bones. Mr. Blank himself identified one as a former inmate of his orphanage by the sleeve which still clung to one arm.

Tuesday morning the twenty loads of wheat, that had come from Baghche, and the rice were distributed, and made less than a quart per capita for the 2000 hungry ones. I wish there were some way to know whether the Turkish Government means to continue to feed these people, or if it is merely playing with me. There are twelve of the prominent actors in the recent massacres being sent to the court martial at Erzin, but the Mufti, who was really the organizer of the whole business in this region, is not of the number.

You see the problem before me. Five thousand people to be fed by the Turkish Government, if possible, if not, by other means. The people had neither money nor credit, no tools or implements, not a cup or spoon, not a cooking pot or pan, not a bed or blanket, not an extra undergarment. The first caravan of twenty-two loads from Aintab contained one bale of over a thousand wooden spoons, beds and bedding for the sick, some tools and a blacksmith's outfit with which we could make more. These caravans of goods, contributed by the poor Armenians of Aintab, kept coming in, every three to five days, until 200 loads had reached us. This was a noble response from the native brethren in Aintab, four of whom accompanied their gifts and helped me in the distribution, and by their sympathy and encouragement did much to revive the bereaved and despairing. We soon had two blacksmiths busy making sickles for the approaching harvest, carpenters making threshing machines, etc. We bought wool and cotton, and Mrs. Shepard soon had many of the women employed in washing, carding and spinning, then looms were set up and cloth, blankets, and sacks began to add their comforts to the reborn civilization.

During all this time I was busy making representations to the Turkish Government through those officials, civil or military, with whom I came in contact, to the parliamentary commission which visited the region about the middle of June, to the efficient British Consul in Adana, to the International Relief Committee in Constantinople, as to the urgency of beginning rebuilding at once, if we were not to

be caught by the winter rains. About the middle of August Parliament appropriated £T. 100,000 for this purpose, and what was equally important, an able and honest man, His Excellency Jemal Bey, was appointed Vali, *i.e.*, governor-general, of Adana. One of the first things done by Jemal Bey after his arrival was the appointment of a strong relief committee, composed largely of foreigners and Christians. Upon hearing of his appointment, I immediately went to Adana, arriving two days later than he. To my surprise I found that I had been made chairman of the Government "Commission of Relief and Rebuilding" for the three Kazas of Baghche, Islahia and Khassa; there was, however, no work to be done in the Kaza of Khassa. Mr. Wm. Nesbitt Chambers, missionary of the American Board of Adana, introduced me to the Vali, who was cordial and gave me the privilege of meeting the Relief Commission the next day and presenting at length the needs of our district. The Commission at once voted us £T. 10,000, with which to begin the work of rebuilding, and £T. 1,800 for food. My commission consisted of four members besides myself, *viz.*, Lieutenant Shakir Effendi, of the regular army, detailed for this special service, Ziah Effendi, an official from the civil service, and two Armenians, Garabed Agha Parsekian of Hassan Beyli, and Avedis Effendi of Baghche. Shakir Effendi and I saw the £T. 11,800 placed to our credit in the Imperial Ottoman Bank, and taking part of it with us, started for Baghche the next day. Could I have seen all the difficulties of the weary months before us I should not have felt so elated. But I shall not weary you with the tale. Suffice it to say that we immediately made contracts with timber-cutters and set them at work, and began the difficult task of apportioning the money to the owners of the burned houses, the principle being to make such a grant in aid to each individual as would enable him to get a roof over his head before winter. We also had the widows and orphans to feed. With funds received from the International Committee, I was trying to see that each farmer had a yoke of oxen, each weaver a loom, each muleteer a mule, etc.

The work was greatly increased because the villages were scattered over a large area, and connected (separated would perhaps be a better term) by difficult bridle paths over precipitous mountains. Shakir Effendi proved to be an efficient and honorable gentleman, with whom it was a pleasure to work. The other members of the commission also proved good workers, and before the winter came we had the satisfaction of seeing every one sheltered, having assisted in the rebuilding of over 900 houses, and leaving in the hands of a responsible committee £T. 1,600 for the rebuilding of churches and schools, which we were unable to attempt in the time at our disposal. These, however, were built the next spring.

Counting the 200 loads of goods sent from Aintab as worth only \$15,000, I administered more than \$100,000 in relief in the ten months following the massacre, and rode about 3000 miles horseback. Perhaps as I have several times alluded to the Courts Martial which tried the perpetrators of these massacres, I ought to say a few words about their work. No *one* thing could be truthfully said about them all. They differed greatly in the character and spirit of their personnel and naturally differed also in the work which they did.

The investigating committee, which sat in Baghche while taking evidence in regard to the massacre in Baghche and Hassan Beyli, was impartial; and the central court, which sat in Erzin, pronounced judgment in accordance with the evidence, and seven of the leaders (including the Mufti, a very influential man) were hanged. The investigating committee, also sitting at Baghche, which investigated the Haroni massacre (one of the most hellish on record), was prejudiced from the start, and whitewashed the whole thing. Nevertheless the central court at Erzin condemned Hadji Khallil Bey, the real leader, to perpetual banishment with his whole family, upon evidence coming to its knowledge from other sources. The court martial sitting in Antioch found eighty-five sentences of varying severity, but malign influences at Constantinople were able to prevent the execution of any of them. My friend, the Mutessariff of a Sanjak

in which another court sat, said to me, "I am surprised that they could find such a set of incompetent rascals in a single Army Corps." But when all is said it remains that, in the case of the Adana massacre, seventy Moslems were hanged for killing Christians in a general uprising. And when you stop to think how hard it is to secure the conviction and punishment of those who kill people in a mob in this country, these results—far from justice as they are—will not look so meagre after all.



## AMERICAN EDUCATION IN THE TURKISH EMPIRE

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The year 1908 effected a change in Turkey more sudden and possibly more sweeping than has been seen in any nation since the French Revolution. It came as a surprise not only to the world outside but even to many of the most intelligent and best informed citizens of the empire.

Partly because of what had taken place during the reign of Abdul Hamid II, and partly because of events growing out of the revolution, the general situation as regards social and political progress is exceedingly complicated and difficult to understand. When last winter I asked a Turkish official of prominence how he felt about the prospects for the success of the revolution, he said, "I do not dare to predict. There are many doubtful factors, but we are doing the very best we can. You can see," he said, "that as an officer and a governor, I am a part of the military system which now governs the empire. Every day gives us more confidence, and we hope to succeed." This seemed to me a good example for any one who undertakes to explain the remarkable movements which are growing out of the establishment of the Constitution and the greater toleration now shown to all peoples and all sects.

In considering American education in Turkey, its beginnings, its growth, its adaptation to the needs of the people, its restraints, its general influence as affecting other forces of enlightenment, and its possibilities for the future, we of course must keep in mind the history of the Turkish people during the last one hundred years, the great variety of languages, religions, and stages of culture found in that part of

the world, and the relation which the educational work of missionaries has borne to the primary religious purpose to which they have addressed themselves. Moreover, we must consider the way in which American education has developed at home and see what analogies there are between the achievements of educators and reformers in the United States and the methods and results seen in Turkey.

A few words about conditions. In 1529, the date of the siege of Vienna, Turkey was the greatest empire in the world. Since that time much territory has been entirely lost and other portions of the empire have become independent states. Turkey now includes the Macedonian provinces in Europe and Asia Minor to the borders of Russia and Persia, extending south through Syria and into Arabia, with a population of about twenty-four millions of people. The territory over which the present sultan rules is packed with marvelous history. Within its borders are ancient Troy, Babylon and Nineveh. Here Alexander the Great conducted his great campaigns. It is the site of nearly all the events recorded in the Bible, not only the Old Testament, but the New. Here were the seven churches and here the Scriptures were written. Here has been the greatest mixing of peoples the world has ever seen. Turkey has been a vast melting-pot into which have been thrown many races, religions and languages. Turks, Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Syrians and the tribes of the desert and the mountains, while under one government, have largely maintained their separate faiths and dialects. This mixing and clashing of races in the Far East is surely a part of that process whereby the world is being unified and educated to common standards of morality and justice, thus leading to peace of mankind. The conquering Turks, who have given quarter only to those who have accepted the faith of Islam or agreed to pay tribute, while always excellent leaders, have largely failed in administration. Hence, in recent times there has been little development of natural resources. On the other hand, there has been economic stagnation, repression of initiative and enterprise and, in many sections, the most utter ignorance and poverty, carrying in their

train degradation, hopelessness, a bitter sense of wrong and a readiness to retaliate whenever opportunity occurs.

This is a rough picture of the conditions as seen by the missionaries of the American Board in 1820, and as experienced by them in a greater or less degree during these intervening years during which they have planted the foundations of their work at selected points and have developed institutions wholly or in part educational. There has been enough of mystery and romance to fire the imagination of good men and enough of deprivation and suffering to call for heroism of the highest order. The ablest available men were selected to explore the country at the outset, and they have been followed by men and women of rare qualities of mind and heart. Stations were selected with the greatest care, with a view to covering eventually the whole country. To avoid duplication and competition a division of territory was made. All this early work was carried on by the American Board and this society has been by far the most important agency in the educational uplift of Turkey. In 1870 the mission work in Syria was turned over to the American Presbyterian Mission Board and that organization has achieved splendid results through its schools, colleges, and medical work.

It may be assumed that the young Turks could never have carried their well laid plans to execution except for certain influences and forces which had prepared the way. In the fullness of time great world changes are accomplished. The cosmic elements have done their secret work. Then it is that the voice of the Almighty is heard. Those years of stagnation and poverty to which I have referred had caused much discontent, especially in the army. Its officers, many of them the best men in the empire and well educated, were poorly paid and easily imbibed the revolutionary spirit. Seeing the misery of their countrymen, they were readily indoctrinated with the gospel of liberty, equality and fraternity. Again, a policy which drove into exile some of the proudest Turks, Armenians, and Greeks, worked toward the undoing of the sultan, for these exiles, inspired by Wes-

tern ideas of government and social life, maintained a vigorous propaganda through books, papers and correspondence. The story of the formulation and development of the plan whereby the Macedonian army was ready to enforce the demands of the Committee of Union and Progress has not yet been fully told. But it is evident that the work of preparing the nation for constitutional government and substituting coöperation for suspicion and hatred, has been largely accomplished by American teachers. In Turkey, as elsewhere, there is no sharp line to be drawn between religious work and educational work. They are both a part of a whole, and are particularly so among people for whom almost everything must be done. The enlightenment of mind and heart must proceed together. Even in the United States, where the teaching of particular religious beliefs is forbidden, any school that does not reflect and indirectly teach all Christian virtues and does not give experience in the practice of these virtues, cannot be classed as a good school. So in speaking of American education in Turkey wide significance is given to the term, including not only what is done in schools and colleges by personal influence and example, and in teaching the various branches of knowledge, but also through books, periodicals, and tracts. We must also include the work of physicians,—physical, moral and spiritual, the service of hospitals and dispensaries and that large volume of influence, culture and uplift which radiates from institutions and homes, so that the potency of missionary work is felt throughout vast areas of territory.

We will next consider to what extent American education in Turkey in its unfolding, is analogous to the progress of education in the United States. If we find that the early missionaries had very little idea of education as a redemptive agency, and that they began by establishing training schools for ministers, we need not be disturbed, for that is exactly what our fathers did who came as pioneers to New England. Harvard University was founded for that purpose, and so was Yale. The secondary schools were especially intended for those who were either to preach or to be

leaders in the community. At the beginning there was practically no provision for the children of the poorer people. It took a long time for the people of the United States to understand that a Christian commonwealth must rest upon the intelligence of all the people. It finally required a great civil war to sweep away the barriers which stood in the way of universal education. In 1820, when the missionaries began their work in Turkey, there were few high schools or public libraries in the United States. Horace Mann had not begun his great work of arousing the people of Massachusetts to the need of decent and wholesome schoolhouses, and of teachers fit to teach and to guide growing youth. Practically everything we have of which we are proud, has been developed since that time. The old ideals have largely passed away. New ones have taken their places. The conception of education has been so broadened as to include every kind of human improvement,—physical, moral, social, intellectual and spiritual, and it is understood that these different aspects of education are really all one. And so the old definitions have to be discarded. Education is life in its largest significance. Very lately we have been reading into the definition of education those social and industrial needs of the community which modern life imposes, and are saying that those who have special aptitudes, or who are to be wage-earners, must be trained to meet these needs, thus insuring greater efficiency for the individual and larger productiveness and prosperity in the state.

For many years there has been a growing sense of the philanthropic meaning of education, public and private. A large part of the legislation passed by the states of the Union in recent years has reference to the protection of children from injury and hardship of all kinds, the enforcement of rules requiring attendance at school, proper sanitation and hygiene, the free supply of books and materials for school use, medical inspection, nursing, and the segregation of those needing special care, by reason of either physical or moral defect. We could hardly expect to find that these various kinds of development could be accomplished in Turkey as rapidly or in the same way as they

have been here. But we see in the successive steps of mission development, much that reminds us of American educational pioneering. Prudence and caution have to be combined with scientific insight and enterprise. There must be open-mindedness and the ability to adapt means to end. An appreciation of difficulties and a calm determination to master them is required.

In order that we may be more specific in our comparison let us ask, What have been—what are—the great aims of American education? Are they not, first, to minister and to nourish the higher life of the people; second, to improve and uplift the common life; and third, to stimulate and develop the industry and commerce of the nation?

The ideal of character-building has been kept well to the front. While there is not, as in the early schools, definite religious teaching, much, as I have already indicated, is made of sentiment and the appreciation of the highest things. So the missionaries, beginning with the effort to secure religious conviction, have gradually evolved a series of educational activities, all of which are believed to contribute to the general aim. The training of men in school and college to be upright and sincere lawyers, doctors, preachers, teachers, merchants and men of industry, is seen to be a legitimate part of missionary work. In the socially disheveled condition in which missionaries find the people in the Orient, leaders are just as necessary as they were in the early colonial times in this country. Every good minister, every competent physician, every honest lawyer or merchant becomes a center of conservative influence in the community. He is useful in times of storm and stress in giving courage, sympathy and help.

If we look at the second educational aim mentioned, we will find some general analogy. As I have said, the common school system of the United States was only gradually evolved and now the greatest of all aims is to uplift the common mind and the common home, to make men and women intelligent in their living, efficient in their wage-earning, wise in the use of what they earn, fit to rear and nurture children, with social consciousness, good members of a demo-

cratic community. While American teachers in Turkey began at the top, their work had necessarily to be enlarged downward, so as to reach the very poorest. There were practically no schools for the people when American teachers began their work, and now they are scattered throughout the empire. Directly or indirectly, as I believe, all these schools, higher and lower, are due to educators who have come in from the outside, most of them Americans. At times it appears that the government has been quite assiduous in organizing schools. No doubt a part of this activity has been influenced by Germany or France. But the best work among the common people is, if I am rightly informed, the direct result of missionary enterprise. And now that the revolution has come, one of the first things taken up by the new parliament under the direction of the Educational Council was the framing of statutes for a complete system of free schools throughout the empire. How soon there will be money available for the support of these schools, it is hard to tell. With what wisdom and competency the young Turks can devise and administer a system of public education, is yet to be determined. It is at least an inspiring thought that the leaders of the new movement have so closely associated with the idea of the future free state the notion of popular education. And there is occasion for thankfulness that in the several parts of the empire, where different languages are employed, as Arabic, Armenian, Greek and Turkish, there are already elementary and high schools, and colleges completely organized, fairly well equipped and conducted in the same spirit and with the same breadth of view which are to be found in our best American institutions. The Turkish government therefore has at hand models after which they may frame their schools and colleges. Robert College, which has been such a beacon light, not only in Turkey but especially to the Balkan states will be able to yield a powerful influence and will be of great service in the new educational movement. The woman who is highest in the counsels of the government, who has already acted as adviser upon educational affairs, is a graduate of the American College for Girls at Constantinople,

and by her beauty of character and quality of mind would be a worthy leader in any country. So we may be sure that if the present government does not become enamoured with the idea of buying battleships and becoming a great sea power, or is not led astray by the great powers which have so much influence, the purpose to introduce free education will be accomplished, and for its accomplishment Turkey will owe a great debt to America.

The third aim of American education to which I have referred relates to the fostering of the economic interests of the country through the training of engineers and men of science and commerce competent for every field. For a long period in America we had no well trained engineers or scientific workers. It is difficult to tell how we built our bridges and made our towns sanitary. Perhaps we didn't do it at all. But American inventiveness and courage were powerful factors in pioneer and colonial days. Equally inventive and equally competent have been American men in the Turkish empire who without scientific training, have undertaken every sort of project which necessity required. The story of Cyrus Hamlin's varied activities during the Crimean War in establishing bakeries and providing in many ways for the saving and protection of the people, and his later work as architect and builder, to say nothing of many other kinds of skilled labor which he performed, are too well known to need reference here. I have recently read Dr. Washburn's "Fifty Years in Constantinople." It is a record not only of education, but of statesmanship, of varied demands supplied in many directions. Both he and Dr. Hamlin as well as others who might be named, have illustrated what men can do in overcoming great obstacles and solving intricate problems. About the middle of the last century, perhaps a little earlier, we began to import scientifically trained men from abroad who became professors in our colleges and helped us in planning and constructing our great public works. Now that the Turkish empire is open, we may be sure that a similar thing will happen there. Already concessions are being made for the building of railroads, the opening of mines and for various other applications of steam and elec-



tricity. All these will call for the services of trained men and when once the work of developing the rich resources of the empire has begun, we will be surprised to see how rapidly it will proceed. During the last half-century we established our own scientific and engineering schools in the United States and we have now more than one hundred institutions where men are trained for technical work. So high are the standards and so thorough is the specialized training given, that the engineer who comes now from Europe does not find it so easy to adjust himself as formerly. In Turkey the second stage has been reached when the doors are open for foreign engineers, but the third stage has hardly begun. Robert College has, I believe, just established a department of engineering. It is indeed a most important step. For however great importance we may attach to the cultural value of schools and colleges, the uplifting of a country which has been so long stagnant, where there has been so much repression, poverty and hopelessness, can be accomplished only through economic and material enterprise. Those who are to be educated must first be fed and so be in a condition to partake of knowledge. Just as soon as mines are opened, factories are built, agriculture has received proper attention, and railroads are constructed connecting all parts of the empire, so that the products of the farm and the shop can be quickly and cheaply delivered in the great markets, a new spirit will inspire the people. The call for labor will be such as to leave less opportunity for the doing of evil by idle, discontented and fanatical persons. The great religions of the world are in the end to be tested by their adaptation to help people in their actual living, by their power to give true views of life and a hopeful attitude toward human destiny. Before Turkey becomes a stable and a respected nation, there may be much confusion, chaos and times of desperation and danger. But with it all there is likely to be a crumbling away of these beliefs and customs which stultify and degrade men and women and a building up of those ideals, practices and methods of life which the best civilization of the world has approved.

Thus we can see that history repeats itself; that those

who were sent out to undertake the religious betterment of the people in the Orient, carried with them the American spirit. And they have to a good degree kept up with the progress of thought and improved methods of work, both in church and school, which have been found most successful here. Doubtless they have often undertaken to do what they were not fully equipped to accomplish, but that is nothing new in the history of American enterprise. I have read somewhere a story of two young men, both graduates of law schools, who met for the first time upon a train going West. They found on comparing notes that they were both intending to make their home and practice law in the same small Western town. It seemed to them that two lawyers would be too many for that place and they finally decided to toss up and see which should be the lawyer and which the doctor. Then I remember hearing of a man in one of our large Eastern colleges who, just before graduation, read in the newspaper that a superintendent of a large mine in the far West was needed. He answered the advertisement, and said that his duties would not permit him to apply in person at once, but that he would in the course of a few weeks like to meet the owners of the mine and present himself as a candidate for the position. He immediately went and found another mine of the same sort, made a careful study of all operations connected with it, then applied for the position in question, was appointed as superintendent and afterwards became a mining expert.

I do not cite these instances to suggest that our missionaries tried to be what they were not, but simply to show that there is something peculiar in American enterprise which manifests itself whether in work among the Turks or on the Isthmus of Panama. I do not say that the schools which missionaries have planted are actually doing all that is undertaken in American schools. Potentially they are complete and effective, and are so because men and women charged with American ambition, believing in the future of the race and possessing, like their forefathers, faith in God, have faced greater perils than the North American Indians, an inhospitable climate or a trackless forest.

Just a word about the methods of religious propaganda as showing how wisely the missionaries have conceived and executed their work. For them to attempt to convert the Mohammedans was impolitic for, if successful, it would make their stay in the country impossible, and every convert would be marked for persecution and probably for death. In the days of those horrible massacres of Christians which have stained the pages of Turkish history, when some have consented to accept Islam to save their lives and those of their families, it has been next to impossible to get the permission of the Sultan to return to their old faith, even when powerful diplomatic influence has been evoked. Once a Mohammedan, always a Mohammedan, is the law. So, not being able to convert Mohammedans, attention had to be given to the ancient Christian churches. These were encrusted and benumbed with centuries of formalism and ignorance. There were the Roman, Syrian and Greek churches and particularly the Gregorian-Armenian, founded by St. Gregory in the fourth century. So decadent and ignorant were they that not even the priests understood the scriptures and ritual, written as they were in a language long since forgotten. Instead of proselyting in these churches, it was determined to help them to reform themselves from within, to give them the scriptures and other literature in a living tongue, and to set before them ideals of upright Christian conduct and life. This undertaking did not go forward without much of jealousy, suspicion and even persecution, but nevertheless great progress has been made. There are now multitudes of intelligent devout Christians, not only in the separate evangelical churches, but in those bearing the old names.

In addition to work immediately connected with the churches, there are three kinds of educational endeavor which demand our attention: first, schools and colleges; second, the work of the printing press; and third, medical care through hospitals and dispensaries, as well as in the homes of the sick and suffering.

It is only fair to the old Sultan, Abdul Hamid II, to say that there has been a considerable degree of religious toler-

ation and a tendency to give considerable liberty to missionaries in all these forms of educational effort. In various rescripts, charters and treaties, religious liberty has been affirmed and schools have been permitted to grow and extend their influence, provided they have not taught what would tend to make the people discontented and critical of the policy of the government.

Doubtless the best educational work under government authority has been that of the military schools. Here European influence and tutelage have been of value. The young officers trained in the great military school in Constantinople have evinced such breadth of view at times as to make them objects of suspicion to the Sultan, and in the reaction the list of men marked for assassination was mostly made up of the graduates of that school. Then there are the mosque schools of which there are many, some of which are quite well endowed. Here the Koran is the basis of instruction. Those educated in the highest of these schools become legal experts and are judges on all questions of theological dogma. The largest of these are in Constantinople and are attended by from ten thousand to fifteen thousand students.<sup>1</sup> There is now a considerable number of primary and higher schools under government patronage. Few of them are very efficient because of the lack of good teachers. There is, for example, the Galata Sarai, a school attended by several hundred boys, where the French language is well taught. It is said that the old Sultan watched these students closely and if any one was found to be too bold in the expression of modern ideas, he was apt to disappear from human sight. Then there is the Girls' Normal School in Constantinople, which before the revolution could hardly be called efficient, but which now is showing a new purpose and a new life.

But even in Constantinople, where the best Turkish schools exist, shouting the Koran in concert and inordinate exercises of memory are in vogue. Whatever is best in the Turkish schools as well as those of the Armenians and

<sup>1</sup> See "Constantinople and its Problems," Dr. H. O. Dwight, p. 207.

Greeks, is an imitation of what the American schools are doing. Some of those supported by different nationalities are doing fairly good work.

It is generally supposed that the Sultan was opposed to the education of girls, for it is well known that in the case of certain Mohammedan young women who have undertaken to enjoy the benefits of the American College in Constantinople, they and their parents were constantly subjected to annoyance and oppression through the spies of the Palace. And so it is difficult to understand why in some cases girls' schools were tolerated and even encouraged. The Sultan Achmet for Girls in Constantinople is an example. The teaching of the three R's and embroidery did not, however, endanger the throne.

In general, it may be said that education in Turkey would up to this time have amounted to very little but for foreign influence, outside of military education, the schools of the Mosques, and a few other special instances to which I have referred.

The best types of what Americans have accomplished in an educational way are seen in Robert College, in the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut, and the American College for Girls in Constantinople. Robert College, the outgrowth of a seminary opened by Cyrus Hamlin in 1840 at Bebeck on the Bosphorus, has placed its stamp on a multitude of young men who in the empire, but more particularly in the Balkan states, have become leaders of thought and earnest workers in the professional fields of education, law, theology and medicine, as well as in commerce and diplomacy. Any one reading Dr. Washburn's interesting volume will realize how many difficulties have been overcome, and will be impressed with the courageous and statesmanlike manner in which the movement has progressed. It has been a great institution standing for scholarship, for high moral ideals and for Christian service. By the recent generous legacy of a million and a half of dollars made by the late Mr. Kennedy, and other benefactions, its capacity for service will be greatly enlarged. I have not at hand the latest figures, but since its organization it has enrolled in its

several departments nearly three thousand students and has graduated upwards of five hundred. Here more than two thousand choice young men of different nationalities have been brought under Christian influences and have been sent out to work for the cause of truth and justice in many lands.

The Syrian Protestant College at Beirut has made an equally brilliant record, and is destined, under the leadership of its distinguished president, Dr. Howard S. Bliss, to be a powerful factor in the upbuilding of free institutions. Here also from three to four thousand students have been instructed, and several hundred graduates have become leading men in the empire. In both these institutions, their preparatory departments as well as the colleges themselves, have reached hundreds who were not able to graduate but who have received Christian education.

The American College for Girls, with its beautiful new site on the western shore of the Bosphorus, where three new buildings are now being erected, and where the preparatory department has already been established in an old palace, has the greatest opportunity ever given to any institution to promote the enlightenment and elevation of women. This institution, beginning as a school for girls, gradually assumed the status of a college, and has for several years maintained collegiate work equal in grade to that of American colleges for women. It has a very strong faculty, a broad curriculum and provides a rock institutional life. While hitherto only a very few Mohammedan girls have attended, now more applications are being received than the present plant can accommodate. I was impressed during a visit of three weeks to this college, to find that it has to a remarkable degree won the confidence and appreciation of all classes, including the Turks. And this is largely due, as I believe, to the high character of the president and the faculty, to their broad-mindedness and to the influence of its graduates. The governor of Scutari, one of those fine officers who led in the Macedonian troops at the time of the reaction, said to me, "I intend to send my only daughter to the American College. The moral influences there are better than in our Turkish schools." This is only one of

several similar testimonies received from prominent Turks during my sojourn in Constantinople.

These colleges have been able to draw most excellent teachers from the United States as well as from neighboring communities. It is only in the department of languages that they differ from our colleges at home. Groups of Turkish, Armenian, Greek and Bulgarian students must have expert training in the language and literature of their own nationalities. As English is the principal language employed in the class room and as French and German are also in demand, it is manifest that the language problem is most difficult, requiring a large and expensive staff of instructors.

There is another excellent college for girls at Marash. There are also in Turkey, including Syria, no less than twenty-five excellent schools and seminaries for girls, from which have gone out many teachers. These institutions, most of them supported by the Mission Boards, possess the same spirit of helpfulness, and their history has been marked by the same sacrifice and devotion as in the mission colleges. The revolution has brought the dawn of a new day to these institutions which by reason of their location and prominence will be able to vastly extend their efficiency and usefulness. The fact that the children of the high officials in the new government are being entrusted to these institutions, is the best possible guarantee that they are in favor.

Let us glance briefly at other educational centers where missionaries have been working energetically. The first thing that we notice is the strategic location of these centers, so that by a kind of radiation of influence the effect of their work has been all-pervasive. Euphrates College at Harpoot, in eastern Turkey, has seven buildings and has done a great work among the Armenians who constitute the largest element in the population of that region. I have not at hand the latest figures, but the college has graduated upwards of two hundred and fifty young men and as many young women. There are two hundred and thirty-five students in the college proper, and six hundred in the preparatory and primary departments. This college has shops for cabinet and stove-making, lock-smithing, tin-work and fruit-

canning, printing and book-binding. Thus the industrial training so much needed in the Orient is provided, and needy students are afforded the opportunity of self-help. In this eastern Turkey mission, in addition to this college, there are two theological schools, eleven boarding and high schools, four kindergartens, and one hundred and thirty-seven other schools, providing for a total of eight thousand students. There are also five hospitals, providing care for six hundred and sixty patients, and six dispensaries, treating forty-six thousand annually.

The central Turkey college at Aintab has gained a strong hold of the people of the different nationalities to which it ministers. Its site was the gift of a prominent Moslem. Statistics relating to the graduates, make a most favorable showing, for it has sent out a small army of teachers, physicians, business men, artisans and lawyers. Western Turkey, with its stations at Constantinople, Smyrna, Cesarea, Sivas, Marsovon and Trebizond, has gone far in the civilization and uplifting of that part of the empire. The same can be said of missionary work in other parts of the empire. According to Dr. Dennis,<sup>2</sup> there are in Turkey eight collegiate institutions with upwards of three thousand students, eleven theological and training schools with perhaps three hundred students, sixty boarding schools and seminaries with five thousand pupils, and seven hundred and sixty-seven elementary day schools with thirty-six thousand seven hundred children in attendance in 1906. Doubtless the numbers have increased since that time.

With the exception of the work in Syria, which is under the Presbyterian Board of Missions, the other institutions to which I have referred are practically all supported by the American Board and have been by far the most active and most influential agency in Turkey. There is no sharp line in any country between the intrinsic work of good pastors and of good teachers. Both seek to liberate and enrich mind and heart and help the individual to lead a worthy life. Keeping in mind the closeness of relationship

<sup>2</sup>"Christian Missions and Social Progress," James S. Dennis.



which exists between those who work in these neglected and decadent areas, we may be sure that all teachers, from the kindergarten through the college, feel a might impulse in their work. Their wages are small, often very small, but everything counts. The sense of being able to help and save those who have been crushed and the joy of seeing men and women trained for high service, are sufficient rewards. Not least among the perquisites is the undying gratitude of those who have been thus uplifted.

Next in importance to the colleges and schools is the printing press as an educational agent in Turkey. From the very first, it was found necessary to print books and tracts for use in mission work and doubtless some of this material was ill suited to the purpose. From Malta, where the first printing was done, this branch of work was moved to Beirut, for printing in Arabic, and to Smyrna for publication in Greek, Turkish and Armenian. In later years the great center for the publication work has been Constantinople. Beginning with Bibles, hymn books, tracts, and various religious works, the list has been extended to school books of various kinds, newspapers and other periodicals. According to Dr. Barton,<sup>3</sup> secretary of the American Board, the output since 1833 has been from twelve to fifty millions of pages each year in not less than ten languages. This great work which has centered in the Bible House in Constantinople, has not been without intense and persistent opposition. First, there must be formal permission to use the press, and then every work or article must have upon its first page the stamp of the royal censor. New editions must have separate approval. Here as in the work of teaching, American determination and enterprise have been too much for Oriental red tape and apathy. The empire has been well leavened by reading matter so that the thousands who have been taught to read have been intellectually and spiritually fed. The printing press has indeed been a potent educational factor. In 1820 there were practically no books in Turkey, and if there had been, there were few who could

<sup>3</sup> "Daybreak in Turkey," James L. Barton.

have read them. When the revolution broke out two years ago, and the restraints of the old régime were removed, there was an output of newspapers and periodicals of all kinds such as never been surpassed. In crossing the Bosphorus in a steamer upon any afternoon, nearly all the men are seen reading the newspapers in their own tongues. The censorship has been relaxed, although not wholly removed. The new government favors a free press, but will not permit appeals to fanaticism or race hatred to endanger the great task which it has undertaken, to establish a free, stable government.

The third department of educational work is seen in hospitals, dispensaries and training schools for nurses. It has for some time been an accepted principle that health is fundamental in all attempts at human betterment. Whether in the city slum or the public school, little can be done if the conditions favor ill health and disease. Medical care or even good sanitation were not found in our educational system twenty-five years ago, a fact which of course seems surprising to us now. So it is not strange that it is only in recent years that the medical missionary has become a necessary and prominent figure in American missionary work. The medical college and the hospital at Beirut are typical of the very best that has been done in this direction. There are ten hospitals under the management of the American Board; each of them has its nurses' training school. In all the large cities like Cesarea, Marsovon, Sivas, Harpoot, Erzroom, Van, Diarbekir, Mardin and Aintab, there are medical missionaries. These have associated with them many native doctors, a good number of whom have been trained in Beirut or in foreign schools. Remembering that seventy-five years ago there was scarcely a reputable doctor in any of these centers, and thinking of conditions of life in the Orient, the squalor, the filth and the ease with which contagious diseases accomplish their desolating work, it is seen that both as philanthropy and as education this medical work claims the highest recognition. The Great Teacher was also the Great Physician. To teach and to heal are the great forms of service and the chief means of saving and uplifting men.

This brief statement hardly does justice to these three forms of educational and saving work which, growing from small beginnings, meeting all kinds of opposition, yet ever winning victories, carrying truth and light and hope into thousands of homes, winning confidence and love by self-sacrificing conduct, have wrought a mighty change in social conditions and have prepared the way for the new era. American men and women, in training so many others to serve, have multiplied themselves many times in work and influence. These institutions planted at strategic points have a wide sphere of activity and make their impression upon multitudes who are touched only in the most indirect way, but the enthusiasm and the loyalty of students and alumni, as well as those who have received medical care, reach out through the homes to the whole community forming opinion and sentiment. Amid all the warring elements of the cosmopolitan East Christian education does not lose its attractiveness. The reverence for teachers, the inspiration of knowledge, the pleasure of sports, the growing consciousness of intellectual power, are just as real there as here, and the social and moral atmosphere of a community is just as susceptible to such manifestations of the higher life.

At the time of the revolution there was a remarkable breaking down of old prejudices and a most joyful and friendly recognition on the part of all races and sects. The people hailed with joy the new opportunity for more fraternal relations with their neighbors.

During the last year many evening schools were opened in Constantinople. I visited two of them in December. One was a small school where on successive evenings during the week advanced instruction was given in special subjects. The other was a large school held in a mosque where there were sixty boys and young men engaged in learning to read. The Mohammedan Hoja in charge was assisted by two or three young men, who as we were told, were giving their services without compensation; and the same thing was being done in other schools in the city. The attendance was about equally divided between Armenians, Greeks and

Turks, and when some surprise was expressed at this, one of the teachers said, "We are all brothers now. We work together." If this attitude on the part of the different nationalities can be maintained throughout the empire, it will be most encouraging to all doing missionary work.

There has been abundant evidence that the leaders of the Society of Union and Progress have appreciated the educational work of Americans as opening the way for the desired social and political changes. A. Faik, Pasha, the governor of Scutari, to whom I have previously referred, in writing to Dr. Patrick, president of the American College for Girls recently said, "You are to be congratulated on your efforts and your services in view of the intellectual development of the young girls which is of great value to our country. We have long felt respect for the American people, who are the most advanced and the most endowed with the spirit of initiative and activity. The educative and philanthropic work which the American schools are undertaking that they may introduce their manner of living and of work among us, increases our national affection for the United States and tightens the bonds of friendship which already unite the two countries."

Only a few days ago press dispatches announced that in brilliant negotiations Mr. Oscar Straus, our Ambassador in Turkey, had succeeded in obtaining a decision from the Council of State approving the act of the Council of Ministers, by which all foreign religious, educational and benevolent institutions are exempted from the provisions of the Ottoman law. Besides being freed from numerous restrictions, these institutions are now permitted to own landed properties. More than three hundred American institutions are affected by the decision.

The commencement address this year at the American College for Girls was delivered by Mehmed Djavid Bey, the Minister of Finance in the Turkish cabinet. This was especially apropos, as one member of the graduating class was a Mohammedan girl. This suggests the expectation that gradually Turkish women will be emancipated from the position of comparative slavery which they now occupy.

They are beginning to long for the blessings of liberty and the opportunities of education and culture. Madame Halideh Salih, a Mohammedan graduate of the American College, writing for the press since the Revolution, said:

"The majority of Turkish women in Constantinople, even among those who hardly understand the meaning of liberty, are for the Constitution, which assures the lives of their children and husbands, which lifts the horrible uncertainty and fear of having an unknown fate hanging over the heads of their beloved.

"The generation of women who have already been the means of propagating large and liberal ideas are an educated minority. They understand that the reason why Anglo-Saxons occupy so lofty a moral position in the world's civilization is due to their sacred ideas of womanhood and home."

This woman was authorized to select five Turkish girls all the expenses of whom at the American College are paid by the Turkish government. That a Mohammedan woman can speak thus freely and sound the call for the liberal and uplifting of the women of Turkey is a hopeful prophecy for the future.

A few words should be said in closing, concerning the future development of the empire. In the first place, it should be understood that the modern missionary educator realizes that the people can only be redeemed through a process of social and intellectual enlightenment. He is interested in everything that improves the conditions under which the people live and opens before them the possibility of useful and happy lives.

We are justified in expecting to see in the near future in the Turkish Empire great commercial, industrial and agricultural movements beyond what the most optimistic have ventured to believe possible. We may expect that such institutions as Robert College and the Syrian Protestant College will develop departments of engineering and schools of agriculture, and make them equal in equipment and importance to any other phases of their work. It is believed that there are rich deposits of ore in Turkey, which are yet

untouched. In many sections the soil is rich, only needing irrigation and scientific agriculture to make it produce bountifully. Something has already been done in the way of industrial education. Perhaps most of this industrial training has been initiated through dire necessity, as when Dr. Hamlin taught the students to make stoves and rat-traps and established a mill for grinding flour, or as when following the massacres thousands of children have been thrown upon the missionaries for care and support. In the orphanages various productive industries have been organized affording the means of self-support for the children and women who were left in absolute poverty. Some of these industrial schools have taken up book-binding, shoe-making, cabinet-making, tailoring and carpentry. The need of definite industrial education for those who must be wage-earners is only coming to be recognized in the United States, and the same need will be appreciated and will be met more and more effectively in those sections of Turkey where poverty and distress have darkened the lives of the people for many years. People who become well informed concerning the history of the work done by American men and women in Turkey, will be filled with admiration and will hold in great honor those who laid the foundations and who in patient continuance in well-doing have prosecuted this work. Those who are working there now will see the empire opened up to western ideas,—economic, commercial, educational,—until every section feels in some way the benefit of the new era. History will repeat itself. There will be seen the discovery and utilization of the natural productions of the land. New and useful inventions and labor-saving machinery will be called for. The railroad, the telegraph and the telephone will bind together provinces, cities and villages in such a way as to promote fraternity and national unity. Hygiene and sanitary science, better homes, better food and better clothing, more civilized habits of thought and conduct will be acquired. Women will be emancipated and educated. Children will be protected and cared for. Good literature will be more widely diffused and the daily and weekly press will afford channels for communication and

instruction. Free libraries will one day be regarded as necessary in Turkey as they are in Massachusetts. People will go to and fro and educated men and women will take their part in all those international movements for the betterment of mankind which react so beneficially upon those who participate.

Last year the Turkish government voted to send one hundred or more young men to Europe, chiefly to France, to be educated at public expense. I am glad to say that six American universities, namely, Columbia, Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Cornell and Chicago, have signified their readiness to offer free scholarships to a limited number of properly qualified Turkish young men, the American Ambassador at Constantinople and the president of Robert College, acting as sponsors for them. I may also add that a movement is on foot to invite twenty-five or thirty young Turks to come and be the guests of the United States; to visit our institutions of learning, our industrial and commercial establishments, and to observe the methods of administration of civic affairs. If this plan can be consummated, it will do much to strengthen the influence of Americans now in the empire and will increase the opportunity for American influence in future. The United States has not tried to exploit the Turks. Hence, Americans are respected and the institutions which they have planted are highly esteemed. May we not hope that in the great work of developing the empire and of extending the benefits of American education to the people, there may always be, as there has been, good faith, honesty, and sincerity on the part of those who lead in this great movement!

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## AUTONOMOUS GOVERNMENT FOR PORTO RICO

*By Señor Luis Muñoz Morales, San Juan, formerly Judge  
of the District Court, Guayama, Porto Rico*

A very superficial observation of the tendencies of opinion in general, not only in Porto Rico, but also in the United States, will show the unanimity with which it has been declared, in an express or implied manner, that the present status of this island cannot be maintained any longer, as it is a status which differs greatly from all precedents heretofore known and is in open conflict with the most rudimentary principles of public law. It presents us to the world as a political entity of a strange nature and vested with a purely imaginary citizenship.

We all of us agree that Porto Rico at the present time is not comprised in any of the classifications into which the public law of North America divides the territory of the United States; and, therefore, this island is neither an unorganized territory, nor an organized territory, nor a state of the Union; but it is not either, nor can it be considered as an independent state. Popular opinion is also unanimous as to our citizenship, which answers no real purpose, because if there be no state there can be no citizens.

A solution of this anomalous situation would, in our opinion, be an autonomous form of government, that is to say self-government as far as possible under the effective sovereignty of the United States: the government of the country by the country under the immediate dependency of the Capitol at Washington, and, as a necessary consequence, the political and administrative decentralization of the organizations which go to make up our territorial entity, in order that our aspirations may be freely manifested and expressed by practical acts, under the positive influence of the moderating power.



Whether such autonomy should be based on the Canadian model, under which the colony has no voice or representation whatsoever in the congresses of the mother country, or whether it should be based on the constitution which the Spanish government granted us towards the end of its régime, is a question open to discussion, but which can in no wise affect the material issue of the problem: either form contains as an indispensable element the principle of self-government, home rule, or autonomy, all of which terms have the same meaning and may be translated by the well known phrase of "Government of the people by the people."

There is no question in the mind of any person who has read the Constitution of the United States and works of writers on American public law as to whether this form of autonomous government which Porto Rico seeks is comprised within the provisions of such Constitution. The principle of self-government is embodied so clearly and manifestly in this code, the authors thereof took such special pains to bring it forward, that it is not possible to question the purpose which guided it; and therefore a form which provides self-government and administrative decentralization is perfectly constitutional.

What, however, is repugnant to the Constitution, is a centralizing and absorbing form of government. Justice John Marshall, the most learned interpreter and commentator of the Constitution of the United States, is very explicit on this point; and political men of the renown of the late Senator Hoar, concur in his opinion.

In so far as we are concerned, there is no doubt that the immediate consequence of this form of autonomous government, would be to define our unqualifiable status, converting our island into an autonomous dependency of the United States, and its inhabitants into citizens of the United States; we would emerge from our uncertain state and enjoy a condition, more or less acceptable, but at least clear and defined; we would know, finally, that we are something.

Another almost immediate result of this form of autonomous government would be to prepare us with some years of practice for subsequent solutions. While practicing this

form of government we would be able to discuss with entire frankness as to whether it would be advisable for us to aspire some time to become a state of the American Union or to become an independent state, under the protectorate of the United States. The ridiculous and stupid specter of anti-Americanism would disappear, and any person believing that such a solution were feasible for the future of his country could openly call himself a separatist.

If our interests are so closely bound to those of the continent, and our relations become closer, and an understanding between the races is engendered, which, united with the economic conditions of the country would permit it to enter a state of the Union under the same conditions as the other states, supporting the expenses and obligations which they support, the solution of annexation would be logical and admissible definitely. If, on the contrary, even though such community of interests and merger of ideas were present, our entrance as a state of the Union appeared prejudicial from an economic standpoint, then the idea of separation would arise by itself, and the mother country herself, without any premature requirements, nor laughable ostentation, would in due time present us as it presented Cuba, as a new personality in the concert of free peoples, even though she reserve and we recognize the prerogatives and advantages which her protectorate would carry with it. The latter solution which some persons fear to discuss, perhaps because they consider that it is looked on with little favor by the government of the mother country, is perhaps that which should be studied with the greatest interest in order that if the case should occur we will not be found unprepared.

With regard to the favor with which the idea of separation may be looked on by the American people, we must not forget that the most learned writers and some political men of high prestige, have already advanced it in their writings and addresses, and it is not foreign in most of those who can influence public opinion: they are not alarmed about thinking of our independence as the colonies of New England thought of theirs.

Let us consider, therefore, that the form of autonomous government for Porto Rico, with the proper separation of executive, legislative and judicial functions, and a reasonable administrative decentralization, is the only solution for the present which should be adopted immediately. To carry it into effect, the coöperation of all Porto Ricans and Americans residing here, who are really interested in the welfare of the island, is necessary.

## THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

*By Rev. R. A. Hume, D.D., of Ahmednagar, India*

I have been asked to write a statement about the Indian National Congress, an interesting and, on the whole, a creditable political institution of Modern India. There are many reasons why India has never been and has not yet become a nation, but it is on the way to become such. India is a small continent half as large as the United States, with different races, different languages, different religions, and different civilizations. It has never all been under one ruler. Those who came nearest to becoming general rulers over the widest extent of Indian territory were not those who could properly be called indigenous. Long ago there were a few Hindu dynasties which, after subduing the rulers of minor kingdoms, held sway over a considerable part of the area from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. These were Mohamedan rulers and were practically new arrivals from the northwest beyond the Indus River.

But in India a national spirit is being developed, and a great nation is in the making. Perhaps it might be said that a great nation has begun to be. This is largely the result of the marvelous recent contact of India with the West. Every lesson in the English language and in English literature has unconsciously been a preparation for a national life. Every lesson in English history has shown how a nation was developed in Great Britain and was unified and strengthened, and how national life grew in Britain's colonies and in the United States. Reading the current newspapers, magazines and books which inundate the country by the weekly foreign mail quickens the impulse awakened by the increasing knowledge of national life in various lands. The telegrams from the whole world which appear in thousands of Indian newspapers and magazines, and especially the recent experiences

of Japan are fruitful in awakening a new sense of potential political power and have quickened a desire to see India occupy a larger place in the life of the world.

There are said to be one hundred and fifty various languages and dialects, of which at least seventeen are spoken by many millions. Some are of Dravidian, some of Aryan origin, and at least one is of Semitic origin, and few who speak one home language understand and can use other languages. The one principal exception is Hindustani or Urdu, which is the home language of sixty-two million Mohamedans who form one-fifth of the population, and who are scattered throughout the whole territory. Yet while mingling with the remaining two hundred and ninety millions of India proper, there is a marked cleavage between the Mohamedans and the rest of the people and a very great majority of those who speak other languages do not use or understand this lingua franca of the Mohamedans. But with the growing knowledge and use of the English language there has sprung up a most powerful unifying and nationalizing force. English is the only language which all the best educated leaders in all parts of India can understand and use in communicating with one another and in all gatherings of representatives from all quarters. It has become the home language of many, is spoken with fluency and purity by multitudes, and gives expression to India's best thinking in numerous papers, magazines and books.

The various influences above referred to have necessarily given birth to the formation of a wide-spread public opinion, and to an increasing desire in the educated classes for a larger and larger part in the administration of public affairs. There was need of an institution for the formation, the focusing and the expression of public opinion on political matters. This necessity led to the organization, twenty-six years ago, of what is called the Indian National Congress. At first it was a loosely formed organization. Without nomination, appointment or election, representative leaders annually got together in a convention and put forth a pronouncement. For the most part they were Hindus, but a few Mohamedans, Parsis and Indian Christians have always been

among these leaders. A few sympathetic Englishmen have always encouraged and heartily coöperated in this movement. But, doubting what such a congress might grow to, many official and non-official Englishmen have been critical or hesitant.

The last days of the year from about Christmas to New Year's are a time when colleges, courts, and many business men take a brief holiday. These days are a convenient, and are climatically an advantageous, time for conventions. So the Indian National Congress always holds its annual session during these holidays. Latterly, a constitution has been adopted, in accordance with which the Congress movement is carried on. Every year a standing Executive Committee is appointed to arrange for the next meeting and to look after matters in the interval. Usually on an invitation from some large city it is voted to hold the next session in some particular place, and a local Reception Committee is appointed to make arrangements. In the capitol of each of six provinces there is a Provincial Congress Committee to promote the interests of the Congress during the year, and in various centers in the six provinces local Congress Committees look after local Congress interests. These provincial and local committees nominate persons to be delegates or members of the next Congress. Such nominations are often ratified in public local meetings. In advance the Provincial Committees send to the Reception Committee of the city where the Congress is to be held, nominations for the president of that Congress, and the Reception Committee choose one person to be presented to the Congress to preside. This selection is practically equivalent to an election, through nominally at the first session of the Congress the Reception Committee make a nomination which is voted on by a show of hands. In advance this president prepares an address which considerably molds the sentiment and action of that Congress. Also at the first session a Subjects or Business Committee is appointed, consisting of representatives from all the provinces and sections of the community. This committee decides what subjects shall be presented, frames the resolutions on these subjects, and selects the persons who are

to propose, to second and to support the resolutions. By the rules any subject which is known or supposed to be opposed by one-third of the delegates is barred from presentation or consideration. Practically, the Subjects Committee is the Congress so far as anything is said or done. In the meetings of the Congress practically there is no discussion or opportunity for divergence of opinion or opposition to what is proposed by the Subjects Committee. Yet all the resolutions go out in the name of the Indian National Congress representing the whole country.

The kind of subjects ordinarily considered are those connected with political, economical and judicial matters, such as demands for a larger admission of Indians into the Government services, economy of administration in various departments, restriction of military expenses, larger expenditure for education and irrigation, opium and temperance policies, the separation of executive and judicial functions, the partition of Bengal, the treatment of Indians in South Africa, etc. The object of most of the resolutions has been to influence sentiment in Great Britain, even more than the expectation of securing much practical attention from the British administration in India itself. It is impossible to say how much the meetings and resolutions of this Congress have effected in twenty-six years. But some of the policies and acts of Government have been modified during the interval. Part of this would probably have been effected without the influence of the Congress. Probably some of them have been hastened by the deliverances of the Congress.

Despite the apparent outward unity in all the deliverances of the Congress there has been a growing cleavage of sentiment and aim between the radical and conservative sections in the community. This cleavage recently came to a clash and a rupture in the Congress movement itself. The Moderate party has as its goal only the desire for a larger measure of home rule like that in Canada and Australia, together with loyal connection with British supremacy in a world empire. The Extremists would omit the last half of the twofold program of the Moderates, though without openly advocating any early separation from British connection.

At the meeting of the Congress in Surat in December, 1907, these two parties clashed with violent antagonism. Blows were exchanged and the Congress meeting was broken up at its opening. The Moderates were greatly in the majority and immediately held a separate session when a committee was appointed to draft a constitution and to take measures for carrying on the Congress on the lines of the Moderate policy. That constitution requires all its members explicitly to accept as their aim the development of an Indian nation as a component part of the British Empire. This excludes the Extremist party, and by that fact in a measure lessens the legitimacy of the claim that this Congress is fully a national institution. Only to a small extent have the Mohamedans sympathized with this movement, and latterly some of the Mohamedan sympathizers have drawn away. This is because in the recent very liberal enlargement of local and representative self-government given to India by Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India in the Liberal Government of Great Britain, and by Lord Minto, the Viceroy, the principle of sectional representation has been demanded mainly by the Mohamedans and has been granted. In consequence the great desire and effort of the Mohamedans is not as broad as the national aim of the Indian National Congress, but for greater power and influence for Mohamedans. This again materially lessens the legitimacy of the claim that the Indian National Congress represents India as a whole. Exactly, it is the organ of only a fair portion of the better educated sections of the Hindu community and a small portion of the Mohamedan and Parsi and Indian Christian communities.

Because the British paramountcy is to be assumed and maintained, no Indian National Congress can become any thing like the British Parliament or American Congress, since under present circumstances there can never be one political party which can turn another party out of power and assume responsibility for administration. It is for the leaders of the Indian National Congress to show whether their institution can more and more become a true and wise National Institution.



## A WORTHY EXAMPLE OF THE INFLUENCE OF A STRONG MAN UPON THE DEVELOPMENT OF RACIAL CHARACTER

*By Wm. S. Washburn, U. S. Civil Service Commissioner*

Almost due north of British Borneo and extending, with an average width of 17 miles, in a northeasterly direction for 240 miles toward the islands of Mindoro and Luzon, lies the splendidly timbered and fertile island of Palawan, between latitude  $8^{\circ} 22'$  and  $11^{\circ} 25'$  North, and longitude  $117^{\circ} 8'$  and  $119^{\circ} 40'$  East from Greenwich. Wholly west of and separated from the other islands of the Philippine group by the Sulu sea, it lies more than 400 miles from the Asiatic mainland, and opposite the French possession of Cochinchina, and separated therefrom by the China sea.

In 1902 the Philippine Commission created the province of Paragua (now called Palawan), which included, for administrative purposes, the northern portion of the island of that name and smaller islands on the north and east—the Calamianes and the Cuyos groups, inhabited principally by Christianized Filipinos. Subsequently the province was extended to include southern Paragua, Balabac, and adjacent islands, peopled principally by Moros and other non-Christian tribes, the province thus enlarged being composed of 358 islands.

A first lieutenant of the 29th U. S. Infantry, Edward Y. Miller, having given demonstration of his ability while serving as Secretary-Treasurer and Supervisor of the province of Paragua, was selected as Governor of the province, where the only highways were the rivers and the seas and where the customs and manners of the Western world were unknown to the majority of the inhabitants. In that byway of civilization Lieutenant Miller, with only a nominal per diem in addition to the pay of his military rank, lived and labored for the good of a benighted people for nearly

eight years, or until May 27, 1910, when his death by accidental drowning, occurring in the performance of duty, unfortunately closed the career of a man who, by temperament, force of character, and training, was fitted to rule as a benovolent despot in a land where ignorance, treachery and tribal enmities bound the inhabitants to barbarism.

Prior to American occupation the Spanish Government had exercised control over a few of the coastal pueblos of Paragua and some of the smaller islands of this province; but the majority of the people of the larger island remained untutored and ungoverned. Undaunted by hardship and danger and almost insurmountable difficulties in attempting to exercise control over inhabitants widely distributed and differing as widely in the scale of civilization with respect to customs, characteristics, and dialects—some dwelling in the interior possessing hardly a vestige of culture—Governor Miller, by force of character and tireless effort, succeeded in winning the confidence not only of the Christianized people, who were engaged in agriculture and commerce, but also of the Tagbanuas and other nomad tribes, encouraging them wherever possible to cultivate the land, to build better houses and cease wandering from place to place, and to keep their habitations in better sanitary condition. He frequently visited the people of non-Christian rancherias, distributed writing materials, and encouraged them to use their primitive phonetic language in communicating among themselves and with him. He brought some of the boys to Puerto Princesa, the capital of the province; the smaller to learn English and the larger to learn blacksmithing and carpentry in the trades school which he had established. Wholly absorbed in his efforts to uplift the natives of the province, Governor Miller brought every available resource to the support of vocational education. "The most important instruction," he said "that can be given to the boys of this province is to teach them a trade or the principles of modern agriculture, to enable them later to make use of the resources nature has placed at the disposition of him who can work intelligently."

In the interest of the prompt administration of justice

he was a strong advocate of vesting in him as Governor limited judicial power, a function which certain British officials, commissioners in the civil service of India, possess in addition to administrative and executive duties. His confident view of the situation was expressed in the declaration, "The pagan people of Palawan (Moros excepted) are harmless and peaceful as long as they are justly treated." The Moros, scattered along the coast of Southern Paragua and living in small rancherias—a lazy, piratical class, some of whom migrated from Jolo and Borneo under pressure—were accustomed to carry into slavery the children of the hill peoples who failed to pay tribute to them. The Governor, having determined to teach the Moros a salutary lesson, led punitive expeditions composed of Philippine scouts and constabulary against their strongholds, which were destroyed after a battle which resulted in killing several Moros and securing a large number of guns and a quantity of supplies.

His profound interest and solicitude in the welfare of his people are shown in the following extract from a late report of affairs in his province:

The fleets of "samals" from Borneo and around Jolo are causing much disquietude, and I am doing all I can to discourage the cruising of these sea gypsies around this province. They have no legitimate excuse to come to Palawan. They frighten the people of the isolated villages, and have committed several minor acts of piracy.

Like a father caring for his children, he sought a remedy to prevent the abuses and suffering caused by unjust contracts entered into by innocent people in connection with securing merchandise on credit, and the satisfying of such contracts usually by the personal service of the debtor or his family.

In the interests of good government he earnestly favored the plan of placing the present inefficient municipal police under the immediate jurisdiction of the constabulary inspectors of the province, by which adequate training, discipline and efficiency could be secured.

Under his administration interest in agriculture increased, commerce developed, roadways were built, schools and other public buildings were constructed, health conditions were

improved, and crime was of rare occurrence. Conscientious and incorruptible, he never sought to enrich himself through exploitation or personal enterprise. His time and talents were wholly devoted to the common weal.

The esteem in which Governor Miller was held is expressed by a resolution of the Philippine Commission showing the value of his services and the loss sustained by his untimely death. Tact, rugged integrity, intrepid personal courage, ceaseless vigilance, and an abundance of good sense were some of his characteristics. It is no disparagement of the fair name and fame of the self-imposed exile in far Palawan to say that other Americans in the military and in the civil service in the Philippines did their full duty as soldiers and civilian officials. Every one who has thus acquitted himself has honored his fellowmen and his country's flag. Opportunity to perform unusually difficult tasks, a long period of service, or the occurrence of an untimely death has rendered the career of some notably conspicuous. In paying a tribute of respect to the memory of the late Governor Miller of Palawan, it is a pleasing duty to emphasize the fact that in character and career he was typical of a large number of splendid men who have manfully borne the white man's burden in the Philippines—some of whom will never see their own homeland. The exalted conception of duty of this high type of American has enabled him to justify his country's exercising administrative control over a dependent people for their benefit. With such conceptions of duty and service, backward races are being developed and are reaching higher levels of physical and social wellbeing. Aught else would set aside the principles of the golden rule and of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. "We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak and not to please ourselves."

The people in far distant Palawan greatly miss their benevolent Governor, but his influence will not prevail unless his successor, actuated by pure motives and possessed of high ideals, shall become their guide, protector and friend, teaching and aiding them wisely to work out their own destiny through the influence of enlightened civilization—a process

of evolution in racial character. Only honest men of action for honest ends can successfully uplift the people of a relatively undeveloped race.

Governor Miller's career is a reminder of Carlisle's impressive, vivid picture of a virile life:

"The end of man is not a thought but an action; a series of manful, faithful actions (and of modest, silent, steadfast endurance withal), which make up worthily man's life here below."

## NOTES AND REVIEWS

*A History of Sarawak under Its Two White Rajahs.* 1839-1908. S. BARING-GOULD, M.A., and C. A. BAMPFYLDE, F.R.G.S. (London; Henry Sotheran & Co., 1909. Pp. xxiii, 464.)

One of the most fascinating stories in the whole epic of Greater Britain is that of Rajah Brooke and the founding of Sarawak. It has been told several times, and yet it is ever worth the telling. A new account, therefore, which carries the story down to 1908 and records the great material development of the region under the present rajah, deserves a hearty welcome. This *History of Sarawak under Its Two White Rajahs* is the result of a collaboration on the part of the well known author, S. Baring-Gould, M.A., and C. A. Bampfylde, F. R. G. S., late resident of Sarawak, and they apparently have met the pious wish expressed by the rajah in the introduction that they "form a truthful account, and at the same time give the public a readable book."

For the work of the first rajah the history offers little new, although certain errors in earlier accounts are corrected. The story of Brooke's first relations with Sarawak, of the grant from the sultan of Bruni, the fierce struggles with the pirates, the attack on Brooke by the so-called humanitarians in England led by Cobden, Hume, Sidney Herbert, and later Gladstone, and the commission appointed to investigate his conduct, on these points there is little new. It was during the latter period, when a hostile ministry withdrew all support of his endeavors against the pirates, that he wrote "It is a sad thing to say, but true as sad, that England has been the worst opponent to the progress of Sarawak, and is now the worst enemy of her liberty." Then came the Chinese rebellion, which almost destroyed the little state, followed by constant struggles with pirates, head-hunters, dis-

affected Malay sherips and Dayak outlaws. During these dark days the rajah felt that Sarawak could not stand alone, and, England failing, Holland and France were sounded, fortunately his nephews advised against carrying the latter negotiations to any conclusion.

The first rajah died on June 11, 1868, and since that time the state has been ruled by his nephew, Rajah Charles Brooke. The forty years have seen a great expansion of the state in area and in prosperity. Cession after cession was made by the powerless sultans of the wretched state of Bruni until only a remnant remained to become a British protectorate in 1888, the year in which Sarawak also passed under British protection. Before the present rajah's accession, piracy along the Sarawak coast had been almost entirely stamped out. He turned his attention to the trouble-makers of the interior and along the borders. Under his wise restrictions slavery disappeared without direct enactment, agriculture began to flourish, and the only disorders were those of head-hunting Dayaks of the far interior. And the story of the accomplishment of these results makes good reading.

Concerning the relations of the rulers and the ruled, two quotations deserve attention:

In the gradual establishment of a government suitable to the country and its people, the main principles that have guided the late and the present Rajah are—that the natives should, through their chiefs, have a full though subordinate share in its administration and its councils; that their own laws and customs should be respected, though modified where necessary in accordance with the first principles of justice and humanity. That no sudden and wholesale changes, disquieting to the native mind should be made, and that reforms should be very carefully considered from both the white man's and the native's point of view before being introduced, and that if carried out, it should be done gradually. Thus, without giving rise to any opposition or discontent, slavery, which was at one time in a cruel and oppressive form, by a gradual process of ameliorating the condition of the slaves, enlarging their privileges, reducing the powers of owners and increasing their responsibilities, in course of time ceased to be a profitable institution, and died a natural death without any sudden and violent legislation.

And this, from the *Sarawak Gazette*, of September 2, 1872:

It is easy enough to find weak places in any system, and to give it credit on the whole for less than it deserves, because we dis-

approve of it in part. It is as easy, especially if one has played an important part in it oneself, to over-estimate its benefits. But in a semi-barbarous country, governed in conjunction with the old native authorities by a knot of foreigners, who are in advance of those they govern in knowledge and experience, it is hardest of all to judge impartially what has been done or is in progress. There are two widely different principles on which such a country can be judged; we will call them the Native and the European principle respectively. The first regards the old condition of things, established by custom and the character of race, as essentially natural, and is more or less adverse from changes, however slight, in what has these important sanctions. The second places the standard of Western civilisation before it, and is apt to judge rather harshly whatever falls far short of this, or is not, at least, in a fair way towards attaining it.

The common mistake Europeans make in the East is to exalt the latter of these principles almost to the exclusion of the other, instead of using them as mutually corrective. And this mistake has its origin, not in reasoning or in justice, but in the imperial spirit which makes white men in the East believe themselves lords of creation, and their darker brethren kindly provided in more or less abundance for their profit and advantage. At any rate no man in his senses can expect a wilderness of barbarism to blossom like the rose in a day, or a perfect government to appear full-grown at once; while it is as unjust to put the traditions of the natives and their social position out of the question and consult European notions only, as it is debasing to lower ourselves to the level of native ignorance and stolidity.

In accordance with these two principles, there are two ways in which a government can act. The first is to start from things as we find them, putting its veto on what is dangerous or unjust, and supporting what is fair and equitable in the usages of the natives, and letting system and legislation wait upon occasion. When new wants are felt it examines and provides for them by measures rather made on the spot than imported from abroad; and, to ensure that these shall not be contrary to native customs, the consent of the people is gained for them before they are put in force.

The white man's so-called privilege of class is made little of, and the rules of government are framed with greater care for the interests of the majority who are not Europeans than for those of the minority of superior race. Progress in this way is usually slow, and the system is not altogether popular from our point of view; but it is both quiet and steady; confidence is increased; and no vision of a foreign yoke to be laid heavily on their shoulders, when the opportunity offers, is present to the native mind.

The other plan is to make here and there a clean sweep and introduce something that Europeans like better, in the gap. A criminal code of the latest type, polished and revised by the wise men at home, or a system of taxation and police introduced boldly



from the West is imposed, with a full assurance of its intrinsic excellence, but with too little thought of how far it is likely to suit the circumstances it has to meet.

And again we are told "Sympathy between the ruled and the rulers has been the guiding feature of the Rajah's policy, and this has led to the singular smoothness with which the wheels of the Government run." As the Rajah wrote,

The real strength of the government lies in the native element, and depends upon it, though many Europeans may hold different views, especially those with a limited experience of the East. The unbiased native opinion, Malay and Dayak, concerning matters relating to the country is simply invaluable.

The narrative contains many instances of brave and loyal Malay and Dayak officials. A good example of the paternal attitude of the government is that of the land system.

Land is usually granted at a small rental in large or small areas, in accordance with the capital and the objects of the grantee. The proportion of the land which is to be brought under cultivation in successive years is agreed upon. Any portion of the land that the grantee may have failed to bring under cultivation within the stipulated time, or, having cultivated, has abandoned it, reverts to the State; though in the former case circumstances occasionally arise which justify some latitude to the planter. But all land brought under cultivation becomes the absolute property of a planter or his assigns, and remains so, *as long as it is continued under cultivation*.

Too many quotations have already crept into this review, for it is hard to pass by details of interest to students of tropical administration. Two chapters deal with finance, trade and industries, and education, religion and missions. The book is well illustrated, contains a good map, and a helpful index.

PAYSON J. TREAT.

Leland Stanford Junior University.

*A Voice from the Congo.* By HERBERT WARD. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1910. 330 pp.

The author went to Africa, as he frankly says, "simply and solely to gratify my love of adventure." He took to Africans from the first. He was young and full of spirits and regarded everyone as a friend and although his confidence was sometimes checked, it was never shaken. He believes there is a good side to even most villainous looking savages, and he generally found it. He entered into their lives and they appealed strongly to him by reason of their simplicity, directness and spontaneity. His book describes village scenes, sketches native character, an elephant hunt, a sorcerer, the monkey people, the funeral of an African chief, Tippo Tib, adventures of Captain Deane, the tale of a tusk of ivory, stories about animals, oddities, a village romance, Stanley, troubles of the white man, language, cannibalism, superstition, etc. The book is copiously illustrated.

*State Socialism in New Zealand.* By JAMES EDWARD LE ROSSIGNOL and WILLIAM DOWNIE STEWART. New York: Crowell. 1910. 311 pp.

This work considers the conditions in this most interesting and, as many think, advanced land of the world, under the heads of land tenure and monopoly, roads and railways, finance, public debt, income tax, state life insurance, old age pension, public service, arbitration acts, strikes, wages, cost of living, etc. The most momentous question here, as in Australia, is that of Asiatic immigration. Even the socialists would exclude cooly labor because they cannot bring down the standards of living to an Asiatic level. What these colonies need, in the opinion of these authors, is not more socialistic legislation but alliance with the United States, just as we need alliance with the British Empire, if not for the Open Door in China and the mastery of the Pacific, at least for the preservation of our Anglo-Saxon civilization.

*A Comparative Study of the Play Activities of Adult Savages and Civilized Children.* By LILLA ESTELLE APPLETON. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1910. 94 pp.

This thesis first analyzes the plays of savages and then of civilized children and compares the two. She selected the plays of five savage tribes and plays and games of children of five cities. On this basis, she compares children's play by periods punctuated by the age of 3, 7, 12, 17 and 23 and compares these periods with those of ascending orders of savage life. Her conclusions point out with a good deal of clearness and discrimination the advantages and the limitations of this comparison and her work ends with an excellent bibliography.

*Men and Missions.* By WILLIAM T. ELLIS. Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Company. 1909. 313 pp.

For more than a year it was the author's business as a "secular journalist to look into the entire missionary enterprise both as a principle and in practical operation." He examined mission schools, churches hospitals, evangelistic work, often going out into raw heathenism, paying his own expenses and holding no brief. Under these conditions his faith in missions and in the men of the home churches "has grown stouter with every day of full thought and knowledge," and so he tells his story in twenty chapters.

*The Awakening of India.* By J. RAMSAY MACDONALD. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1910. 311 pp.

This work is really divided into two parts. The first is impressions of a more or less personal character, *e.g.*, at Simla, Lahore, Binares, etc., and the other embodies the author's conclusions. He looks forward to a time when the superficial differences of language and creed there may vanish and a united India may emerge, one geographically, ethnologically, politically, religiously. This India is a vision of the faithful Hindu as heaven is of the Christian saint.

## THE CONGO FREE STATE AND CONGO BELGE

*By Frederick Starr, of the University of Chicago*

To depict "the present day conditions" of most African colonies would not involve sketching their history or probing into their past. In the case of *Congo Belge*, however, it is necessary to do so. To understand any statement relative to it, demands some acquaintance with the Congo Free State which lies behind. Permit me to briefly recall its more salient features.

How little was known of the great rivers of Africa only thirty-five years ago! The source of the Nile, long sought, was still in dispute; while part of the course of the Niger was known, its mouth had been sought in vain; the mouth of the Congo had been known since 1485, almost three hundred years, but practically explorers had mounted the mighty stream no farther than Isangila, in the lower cataracts region, the point reached in 1816 by the ill-fated expedition under Captain Tuckey.

In 1871, Livingstone, the great missionary explorer, had disappeared and the uneasy outside world had despatched an expedition under Stanley to discover his fate. The veteran had made his way from the east coast northward into the heart of the continent, discovering Lake Moëro and exploring Lake Bangwelo and the southern end of Lake Tanganika. At Nyangwe he had seen the great Lualaba flowing northward. Stanley overtook him at Ujiji on November 10th. The old man was not particularly delighted at the encounter; he had as soon pursued his important explorations alone. But together they explored the northern end of Tanganika and together they queried about the mysterious north-flowing river. To Livingstone it was a fascinating problem; he believed it could only be the Nile.

They separated and Stanley returned to tell the world how he found Livingstone. They never met again; before Stanley returned to the interior of the dark continent the old man had passed away. The mystery of the north-flowing river remained, and to the solution of that mystery Stanley's expedition of 1874 was devoted. He entered Africa from Bagomoyo on the east coast, November 17th. He penetrated again to the region of the Great Lakes, discovered Lake Albert Edward, circumnavigated Tanganika and, in November, 1876, with the famous Arab, Tippu Tib, he left Nyangwe with canoes and paddlers determined to solve the mystery of the Lualaba by the certain method of following the great stream to its mouth. Long it flowed northward but, to his surprise, turned abruptly to the west; it could not then be the Nile. Steadily moving westward, latitude suggested that the unknown river might be the Niger; but another sudden change in direction, this time to the southwest, rendered this conjecture unlikely. Only as he neared the end of his long journey did he realize that his river was the Congo. He has himself told the story of his expedition, one of the most remarkable in the history of geographical exploration. He reached Boma, near the Congo mouth, August 9, 1877.

After Stanley had disappeared in the dark continent and while he was exploring the Lake region and negotiating with Tippu Tib, an important event took place in Europe. Leopold II, king of the Belgians, had long been interested in travel and exploration. In 1876 he invited a Geographical Conference at Brussels. To it were bidden well known geographers from various countries and particularly men who had made explorations in Africa or who had especially studied that continent. The session occupied three days in September, was held at the palace, and was presided over by the king. Its avowed purpose was to encourage the exploration and opening up of the heart of Africa to the world. In opening the conference the king said:

To open to civilization the only portion of our globe to which it has not yet penetrated, to pierce the darkness which envelopes

entire populations, this is, I venture to say, a crusade worthy of this century of progress, and I am happy to observe how much public sentiment is favorable to its accomplishment; the current is with us.

Of gentlemen among those who have studied Africa, a considerable number have been led to think that there would be advantage, for the common end which they pursue, in assembling and conferring together with the purpose of arranging procedure, of combining efforts, of drawing upon all resources, of avoiding duplication.

In this conference establishment of stations, from which expeditions should explore the unknown portions of Africa, was discussed—as also the organization of such expeditions. The *Association internationale africaine*, commonly known as the A. I. A., was established and the king was elected president of its executive committee. The nations participating in the conference were urged to form national committees, which should divide the field between them and undertake definite expeditions. Belgium acted promptly in the matter; its committee was organized in November, 1876, and a first expedition was despatched the following year. Other nations were less active. France showed a lively interest, Germany less; most did nothing. Before the plan was abandoned Belgium sent out six expeditions, more than all other countries combined.

But with the appearance of Stanley at the mouth of the Congo a new aspect was put upon matters. Leopold, with the quick shrewdness so characteristic of him, at once saw that the great river gave the natural entrance into the continent; that Banana and Boma, not Zanzibar and Bagomoyo, were the proper stations from which to operate. When Stanley, returning in triumph, reached Marseilles, two messengers from the king met him for the purpose of engaging his assistance in a great scheme which the monarch had evolved to gain control of the whole Congo area by the founding of stations and the securing of treaties from the native chiefs. In boldness and originality, the scheme was unsurpassed by any enterprise of the nineteenth century. For the purpose of carrying it through, a society was founded in Belgium, November 25, 1878, under the name of the

*Comité d'études du Haut-Congo.* The king was its honorary president; three honorary vice-presidents of the A. I. A. were honorary members. Engaged by this society, C. E. H.-C., Stanley returned to Africa and undertook that remarkable work, which he himself has described in two volumes upon *The Congo and the Founding of its Free State*. He made treaties with chief after chief, founded a string of stations from Boma to Stanley Falls, organized, developed, took possession. Five years were devoted to the work. But the condition was anomalous. Could a committee of studies have rights of domain and sovereignty? Could it make valid treaties? In 1883 the committee was reorganized and its name changed to the *Association Internationale du Congo*—A. I. C. It adopted a flag, engaged an administrator-general, and assumed the position of an actual governmental organization. Wauters says of it:

Thus five years had sufficed to make the most brilliant expedition to the center of the continent, to peacefully visit a hundred new populations, to secure from native chiefs more than five hundred treaties of sovereignty, to found forty establishments, to place upon the upper river, above the cataracts, five steamers, to occupy the country from the coast to Stanley Falls, from Bangala to Luluabourg! Diplomatic Europe could not remain an indifferent spectator of so audacious an enterprise, already crowned with so great success.

Of course it was the Portuguese who, in 1485, discovered the mouth of the Congo and who early penetrated at least to the lower cataracts. They made a more or less effective occupation. In the Sixteenth Century they had establishments at San Antonio (Sogno) and at San Salvador in the old kingdom of Congo. Their missionaries had labored for the conversion of the heathen natives. In 1597, Clement VIII had created a bishopric for the religious administration of the region. This chapter of Congo history is interesting and deserves full recognition. But in 1608 San Salvador was abandoned and the power it represented was transferred to Saint Paul de Loanda, and in 1627 San Antonio was deserted. In 1640, mission work was again begun; but enthusiasm was never fully rekindled; the sec-

and period of apostolic labor never equalled the earlier; it left some interesting narratives of effort, but presently the flame flickered, then died; in 1717 the work of evangelism ceased. Then, through a period of one hundred and sixty years, up to the time when Stanley undertook his work of organization, Portugal made no assertion of claims to the Congo. Through all the series of events which we have sketched, Great Britain had taken little part. She was represented in the geographical conference of 1876; she was invited to form her national committee and send out expeditions; while Belgium had equipped and despatched six expeditions, France two and Germany one, she had done nothing. But she looked with doubtful eye upon Leopold and his schemes and at this juncture made a move which threatened to checkmate him. In December, 1882, the Portuguese asserted their sovereign rights over the Coast from  $8^{\circ}$  to  $5^{\circ} 12'$  south latitude and inland to Isangila, in the cataracts region. February 26, 1884, a convention was arranged between Great Britain and Portugal whereby Portuguese rights to both banks of the Congo as far up as Nokki were recognized by Great Britain and she was given trade privileges. By this convention, the promoters of the Congo enterprise held but doubtful value. Without a port, without free connection with the sea and unhampered movement, the upper Congo was worse than useless.

There was another question facing the association. The national Committee of France had not been idle. De Brazza, sent out by this Committee, had raced with Stanley to reach Stanley Pool at the head of the lower cataracts. He arrived there first and, pursuing the Belgian methods, had made a treaty with the native chief and received cessions of land and power. To his feat the Congo Française of to-day is due. The north side of Stanley Pool, after much discussion, was recognized as French; the south side belonged to the A. I. C. Brazzaville and Leopoldville face each other across the great pool.

On April 10, 1884, the United States recognized the sovereignty of the A. I. C.—the first actual recognition by



an outside power; a week later Bismarck, who favored the founding of a true state, invited France to join Germany in calling a conference at Berlin for the consideration and adjustment of African affairs; a week later France entered into a convention with the A. I. C. whereby its sovereign rights were recognized, but in case the sovereignty it claimed should lapse, the territory over which it held should go to France, by virtue of de Brazza's treaty; on November 3d, Germany recognized the sovereignty of the A. I. C. Thus three nations—the United States, France, and Germany—had actually given the A. I. C. official recognition.

To return to the Portuguese-British convention. By May, 1884, Portugal had perfected her plan of organization of a province of Congo, to be established with Cabinda as a seat of administration. On June 23d Bismarck announced his approval of the to-be-formed Congo State and warned Great Britain that Germany could not approve the Portuguese-British convention, which was denounced three days later by Great Britain.

Then came the Berlin conference. It met November 15, 1884, and remained in session until February 26, 1885. It considered and settled many important points relative to trade and development in Africa. So far as concerns the Congo, its regulations regarding commerce were general and apply as well to French, German, English and Portuguese areas within the Congo basin as to the A. I. C. or the Congo Free State. The Berlin conference neither established nor recognized the Free State. There were fourteen nations represented in its membership. Three of these had already recognized the sovereignty of the A. I. C.; during the period of the conference the other eleven were solicited to do the same, and one after another acceded to the solicitation until, before the close of the conference, all the states represented had given their recognition. Britain's recognition was given on December 16th. On February 23d, 1885, in the Conference a manifestation in honor of Leopold II took place and he was congratulated upon the successful issue of his efforts. After the conference closed the king asked permission from the Belgian Parliament to

assume the sovereignty of the Congo Free State, which was granted by the Chamber of Representatives on April 28th, by the senate on the 30th. On August 1st the king sent out an announcement to the powers that the International Association of the Congo had transferred all its rights and powers to the Congo Free State, of which he was Sovereign-King.

The new state now entered upon a career of remarkable development. It occupied a unique position in the world. It did not belong to Belgium, but was the absolute property of the king; Leopold II was not its ruler *as* king of the Belgians; he was at once two persons—King of the Belgians and King-Sovereign of the Congo Free State. It is not our intention to trace the development of the next twenty years. We will only state that a governmental organization was perfected, the old stations of the A. I. C. were strengthened and new stations founded, a military force of native blacks was created, some railway was built, a fleet of steamers was brought into existence, a commerce was developed which made Antwerp the greatest ivory market and the second rubber market of the world. There is no question that, as a business venture, King Leopold's new state has paid. As natural in a private business, economy of conducting and magnitude of return were the two most important questions. With no home country to sustain it and make good its deficits, depending upon the private purse of its owner, it had to pay from the start. These conditions dictated a quite different policy from that of an ordinary colony. Not future development upon foundations slowly raised, but immediate returns were important. The collecting of natural products, representing large value in small bulk and little weight, was the quickest method of securing these. Ivory, rubber, copal—these and almost these alone were available. To secure this exploitation certain peculiar features grew up. While at first private initiative in enterprise was encouraged, a new régime was inaugurated in 1891. The area of the State was divided into three classes of land:

- (a) The lands actually held in possession by natives.
- (b) The remaining lands, the state domain.

(c) Certain lands distinctly set apart as the *domain of the crown*; this was equal in area to one half of France; it was the area richest in rubber. The natives were established in their rights to the lands they occupied; all products of the state domain belonged to the state; all products of the *domaine de la couronne* were the absolute property of King Leopold himself. He owed and made account to no one. Taxes were levied, and, in lieu of cash payment, were collected in service—gathering of rubber and other products, furnishing of food-supplies, portorage and work on public enterprises. In conducting the exploitation, concession companies were organized and, to save expense and for convenience, their agents were given some degree of governmental authority and power of coercion. It is impossible to even enumerate the many other details of administration. In those mentioned many chances of abuse and maladministration are evident.

It was not long before complaints were heard; they became numerous and varied. Foreign interests asserted discrimination and monopoly of opportunity; it was claimed that customs dues charged for necessary state revenues were against the principles of the Berlin conference; the system of taxation was criticized as involving forced labor and practical slavery; acts of injustice and cruelty, including horrible atrocities upon the persons of unfortunate blacks, were alleged. August 8, 1903, Great Britain submitted a diplomatic note to the powers signatory to the Berlin Act inviting intervention in the Congo question. One nation only, out of the fourteen, made favorable response—Turkey. The agitation, however, continued; first in England, then in America, organized Congo Reform Associations by printed matter and public meetings brought a strong pressure to bear upon the two governments to intervene. At least in part on account of this agitation, King Leopold, on July 23, 1904, appointed an International Commission of Investigation, vested with full powers, to visit the Congo Free State, to inspect, interrogate, examine the real conditions and to make report. The personnel of the commission gave general satisfaction. It consisted of Edmond Janssens,

advocate-general of the Belgian court of cassation, Baron Nisco, president of the court of appeals at Boma, and de Schuhmacher, federal councillor of Switzerland. The commission made a careful investigation extending through five months; their report was printed in September, 1905. It was a remarkable document. It was not a whitewash; it found defects, errors, wrongs, abuses; but it is doubtful whether any colony in Africa, after equally searching investigation, could have emerged in better shape. The commission recommended the appointment of a committee of reforms to act upon its findings and suggestions; this committee, consisting of fourteen men, prominent in law and colonial science, was appointed and as a result of its study a list of twenty-five decrees instituting reforms was issued in June, 1906.

It is said that Leopold II, while still Duke of Brabant, on returning from an eastern journey in 1860, gave Frere-Orban a stone from an Athenian temple upon which he had had the words *Il faut à la Belgique des colonies* engraved. It is certain that for many years he looked upon the Congo Free State as a Belgian colony-to-be. While, through its early days, he actually met all its expenses, he had at times to invoke the interest of Belgium in his enterprise. At the founding of the Free State, Belgium had to give the king permission to become its *king-sovereign*; two years later, in 1887, when the State was seeking its first loan, its bonds could be issued in Belgium only with the authorization of the Belgian government; again, when the Congo Railway was undertaken, the Belgian government subscribed 10,000,000 francs in 1889 (and 5,000,000 more in 1896); in 1890 Belgium granted 30,000 francs for the exploring expedition of Captain Delporte. In these various ways Belgium had become actually interested and involved in Congo affairs. On July 9, 1890, two significant documents were presented to the Belgium Chamber of Representatives—a letter from the king dated August 5, 1889, and his will, dated August 2, 1889. In his letter, after having indicated the importance of colonies to manufacturing and commercial nations like Belgium, the king said: “these patriotic preoccupations have dominated

my life; they are what have determined the creation of the African work." He depicted the value of the Congo State and expressed the hope that it would prove altogether to the advantage and profit of Belgium; that he hoped that Belgium would take it over as a colony; that until his death he would direct and sustain the enterprise, unless Belgium should elect to assume its administration before that event. In the will the king transferred all his sovereign rights in the Congo Free State to Belgium upon his death. These documents were in the hands of Beerneart, chief of the cabinet, almost a year before they were presented to the Chamber. In connection with their presentation, Belgium was asked to loan the state the sum of 25,000,000 francs; this loan was granted July 25th. By this transaction not only did the wishes of the king become clearly and publicly known, but Belgium herself became practically committed to his plan. In the convention arranged, it was stipulated that the sum of the loan should be supplied in annual instalments through a period of ten years and that six months after the expiration of that time Belgium might elect to immediately take over the state. In 1895, the Congo government finding itself in need of funds, the question of its immediate taking over became the subject of excited discussion, but the step was not taken. When, in 1901, at the expiration of ten years and six months, the subject was again under consideration, action was postponed, though the law of August 10th conserved Belgium's rights. After the report of the Commission of Investigation and the appointment of the Committee on Reforms, the king issued an important letter, dated June 3, 1906, in which he summarized the whole of his Congo work, discussed his rights, defended his policies and acts and brought up the question of annexation for the third time. The matter was earnestly discussed through a period of more than a year: a special parliamentary committee of seventeen members was appointed by the Chamber of Representatives to thoroughly consider details: its report, made in December, 1907, led to the consideration of a treaty of cession offered by the king. By it the sovereign power, lands and other properties, privileges, rights and obliga-

tions—all were transferred, with certain specified reservations. These reservations practically retained the famous *domaine de la couronne* in the king's hands. They were vigorously resisted by the *Committee of Seventeen* and became the subject of special further discussion. Finally, the king yielded and in return for his actual relinquishing of the crown domain Belgium agreed:

to respect certain specified concessions to companies and missions within the *domaine de la couronne*; to pay 60,000 francs to certain catholic missions; to pay a civil list of 120,000 francs to Prince Albert until his accession to the throne; to pay 75,000 francs a year to the Princess Clementine until her marriage; to carry through certain public improvements not to cost more than 45,000,000,000 francs; to create a crown fund of 50,000,000 francs for schools, hospitals, missions and scientific investigation; to permit to him during his life the use of certain palaces bought in the name of the *domaine* and of a farm for the experimental raising of cocoa and coffee.

After much discussion, on September 9, 1908, the annexation was passed and on November 15th, the *Congo Free State* became *Belgian Congo*.

Belgium faces her new responsibilities with firmness and courage. For the administration of her colony a government has been organized consisting of a colonial minister, responsible to Parliament, and a colonial council of fourteen members, of whom eight are appointed by the crown and six are selected by Parliament. The finances are under parliamentary control, and a budget must be submitted for approval each year. In connection with the presentation of the budget a report is demanded in which Parliament is to be informed regarding the political, economic, financial and moral condition of the colony. The budget and report, printed as a government document, is the standard source of information upon colonial affairs. From this document for the current year, a clear idea of the present movement is gained. Two facts stand out conspicuously in the policy pursued. 1. The nation is in serious earnest in carrying out the reforms that have been suggested for the welfare and improvement of the native population. 2. Without abandoning the effort to gain all possible benefit from already existent valuable natural products, Belgium is wisely look-

ing toward the development of agriculture, the settlement of permanent colonists and the encouragement of new and definite sources of production. Some details may be mentioned.

Minister Renkin has himself made an extended journey through the colony, examining conditions with care and gaining, in the field itself, ideas as to the needs. Keenly sensitive to the accusations which have been so widely made as to maltreatment of natives, he says formally: ". . . solemnly attests that the accusations of cruelty or oppression formulated against the Belgian colonial administration are contrary to truth. As concerns the condition of the natives, *Congo Belge* perfectly sustains comparison with no matter what neighboring colony." Most of the changes in administration are directly made to the end of improving the situation of the natives and giving encouragement to freer commercial activity. Thus, the government abolishes the old system of gathering the natural products of the public lands. To prevent confusion and loss through too abrupt an application of the new policy the public lands will be successively opened to free private exploitation. In the map here displayed the areas to be opened are tinted in three colors; the area colored in bistre is to be opened to such exploitation after July 1, 1910; that in striped green, after July 1, 1911; that in rose, after July 1, 1912. Within these areas, after the dates mentioned, natives have the right to collect rubber and copal on their own account and to sell them freely to private traders. Within these areas, too, land will be rented or sold for the establishing of trading-posts. The importance of these measures for the development of wholesome commerce is evident.

The taxation imposed upon the natives may be paid in money, food supplies, or products. As yet there is no coined money in a large part of the colony. Serious effort is being made to extend its introduction and use and the time is probably not distant when the regular payment of taxes may be made in cash. In the past there has been much criticism of "forced labor." In portage and in the con-

struction of railways and other public works, the state has had to have the services of great numbers of blacks; the men have often been taken far from home and detained for unreasonably long periods. It is still necessary to use many laborers for such work, and in some cases they must be taken to a considerable distance. During 1909, for instance, 2575 men were employed in the construction of the Great Lakes Railway and of the automobile roads in the Uele region. The present administration demands that such workers be voluntary recruits, that they be taken from as near the location of the work as possible, that they shall be taken for a period of not more than three years and that they be paid the ordinary wages of the region and in cash. This last regulation as to *cash* payment cannot yet be actually carried out in all places.

The railway policy of the Congo Free State was notable for economy and practicality. With the exception of a short line running back from Boma, which has hardly justified its construction, not an unnecessary mile of road has been laid. Nature has supplied highway in the great river-system, perhaps the most remarkable on the globe. The Congo is navigable for ocean steamers for one hundred miles to Matadi at the foot of the lower cataracts, a series of rapids and cascades which extends for about two hundred miles; above this interruption is a stretch of fourteen hundred miles, navigable to Stanleyville (Stanley Falls), in the heart of the continent, for steamers of 400 to 500 tons; the second series of rapids extends almost one hundred miles to Ponthierville, where another navigable stretch of several hundred miles is navigable to Kindu; here again an interruption occurs, but beyond Kongolo steamers may again be used. If this were all, the opportunity for commercial development would be great. But the Congo has many great tributaries and these in turn have navigable branches. This network of streams furnishes at least eight thousand miles of steamer course and renders penetration to the whole interior easy. There is no point within the area of the state which is not within easy reach of a stream upon which transport is possible. Recognizing this fact



the state government realized that the actual necessary railroad mileage was small; short lines around rapids, to put navigable river reaches into connection was all. Two such lines were constructed: the *Congo Railway*, about two hundred and fifty miles in length, from Matadi to Leopoldville, around the lower cataracts; and the *Great Lakes Railway*, some seventy-five miles long, from Stanleyville to Ponthierville, around the second cataracts. These two lines rendered traffic possible from the Congo mouth to Kindu. The Colonial government continues this shrewd policy. Two more short lines are now in construction or authorized. One, perhaps two hundred miles long, extending from Kindu to Kongolo, will overcome the third interruption in the Congo-Lualaba proper and will open the last usable stretch of its water. This development of the entire river has been forced by the need of an outlet from the Katanga mining region, one of the world's great copper areas, which lies to the west of the upper Congo-Lualaba. The second line authorized will extend from this same Katanga district westward toward Lusambo and the Sankuru river. It will follow the shortest practicable line and will bring the great Sankuru-Kasai waterway into use for ore shipment. Compared with the line of the Congo proper it will save an enormous distance and repeated handling of the freight. It is, however, in line with the old policy of taking advantage of all that nature has done.

Congo Belge has undoubtedly vast mineral resources. The wonderful Katanga district has been operated for some time. It will soon have *four* outlets for its product. The Rhodesian railroads, pushing up from the south, have already reached Broken Hill almost at the Congo Belge border; the Belgian government has authorized the building of a line from Elizabethville, in the Katanga district, to Broken Hill. The Portuguese are to construct a line from the west African coast, through Portuguese possession, straight to Katanga; it will be a long line, expensive to build and maintain. With its completion Katanga ores may go out by the Congo-Lualaba, the Sankuru-Kasai, the Rhodesian or the Portuguese route. Just now a new mining region of apparently

great promise is being opened in the extreme northeast—the Kilo region, near Lake Albert. It is reserved by the government, which in 1909 worked 1400 men there. It is expected to yield a handsome and steady income to the colony. There is always great and special danger of abuses in the working of mines and it is to be hoped that Belgium in conducting this enterprise will jealously guard the rights and comforts of the workmen. While Katanga and Kilo are resources of enormous potentiality, no one imagines for a moment that they constitute the whole mineral wealth of the country.

In the matter of land tenure, Congo Belge has largely reversed the old policy. Now for the first time the government encourages a free immigration and offers to sell or rent lands for agricultural purposes. Much of the country is not adapted to occupancy by white men; there are, however, considerable areas, as in Katanga and the upper Kasai district, where whites can no doubt build up flourishing communities.

The future of the rubber industry is a serious problem. The rubber exported from the Congo during the last twenty-five years has been wild rubber. In the gathering of it, trees and vines have been destroyed. The supply of wild rubber is not inexhaustible and the end is in sight. The danger has long been recognized, and under the old régime the companies were required to plant and cultivate a specified number of vines or trees, dependent upon the amount of wild rubber taken out. It was believed that these plantations, state property, would come to yielding before the wild rubber was exhausted. The results have proved disappointing; as yet no productive rubber plantations are there. In some cases the companies neglected their duty in the matter; at best the whole business was an experiment and facts had to be learned through failure and bitter experience. *Landolphia* (a vine) was the best natural producer and the first plantations were of it; it appears to be a failure under cultivation. The native *Funtumia* (a tree) seems to be the best plant for cultivation. The famous Brazilian *Hevea* appears to flourish in the Congo area; so much has been

learned. The policy of the government is to release companies and agents from developing plantations and to collect a fixed tax upon all rubber exported. This tax will amount to 0.40 franc a kilo. for tree and vine rubber, 0.20 franc a kilo. for grass rubber. The money resulting from this tax will be used by the government itself in planting 2000 hectares a year to *Funtumia* and *Hevea*, 300 trees to a hectare. The planting is to be conducted upon this scale through a period of ten years. The old plantations are not believed to be entire failures and some income is to be expected from them. The combined income from old and new plantations is expected to largely aid the colonial government, while at the same time a permanent and reliable industry will be developed.

From many other interesting matters relative to the conditions and policy of Congo Belge, we select but two more for mention—the fight against sleeping sickness and the schools. Everyone knows something of the frightful ravages of the mysterious sleeping sickness. At first believed to be confined to blacks and restricted within a limited area, it is now known to affect whites also and has developed over an enormous district. It has devastated whole regions, depopulated important towns, annihilated promising mission stations. Leopold II showed a lively interest in combatting it. In 1903 he lent moral and financial assistance to the expedition sent out by the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine to investigate the disease; in 1906 he presented that school 125,000 francs; during his administration a credit of 300,000 francs was established for study of the disease and a prize of 200,000 francs was offered for the discovery of a cure. The new government intends to prosecute a vigorous campaign. It has utilized the discoveries already made in treating the early stages of the disease; it has adopted preventive measures for its circumscription; it is liberally spending money in increasing the force of physicians, in introducing hygienic improvement and in establishing new hospitals.

The old government was often and severely arraigned for its failure to develop schools; the new administration is launching a definite school policy. The speaker feels that

among ourselves the school idea had become a fetich; that under present conditions in the African lands the establishment of many schools is *not* a crying need. In the Congo both Protestant and Catholic missions have established schools, which are naturally and easily conducted at a minimum expense in connection with their religious work. They appear to me quite adequate to meet the present need. But government schools are now to be established on quite a liberal scale at all the more important centres. Their conduct is to be in the hands of the *Brethren of the Christian Doctrine*. Book-learning is to be associated with industrial and practical training. The avowed purpose is to prepare trained helpers for governmental, railway and commercial enterprises. It is an entirely legitimate end and there is some demand for such helpers. At the famous mission school at Wathen in the lower cataract districts, we were told that boys trained there were in demand for such positions at fair pay. It is a question whether such mission schools cannot for some time to come meet all the demand for such helpers.

In December last, King Leopold II, originator of the Congo enterprise, died. The new king Albert, is deeply interested in the colony. As Prince of Flanders, in 1909, he made a journey through Congo Belge, entering at the east side and traversing the whole colony; it was a hard and trying trip. His letters, printed in Belgian papers, were much read. He has seen the country, the peoples, the problems, for himself; he is, with perhaps one exception, the most democratic of European kings; he is a man of heart and ideas. His interest in Congo natives is genuine, as already shown in his efforts in the fight against sleeping sickness and in plans for the elevation of the blacks. Under his administration, it is reasonable to expect every effort will be made to render Congo Belge a happy and prosperous colony.

## THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE CONGO

*Rev. W. L. Ferguson, D.D., Chairman of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society's Commission to the Congo Mission and the Sudan*

In order to understand the present situation in the Congo, a somewhat extended consideration must be given to the political system and to the administrative and commercial methods of the old Congo Free State, as it existed under the personal rule of Leopold II of Belgium, prior to its annexation in 1908 by the Belgian Government.

I do not propose to discuss the evidence, so abundantly put forth in recent years, regarding abuses of native rights and atrocities committed upon native persons. I propose rather to accept the findings of the special Commission appointed by King Leopold II in July 1904, and to refer my hearers to their Report for a full answer to the question so often asked, "Is it true that there was such misrule in the Congo?"

The Report of the Commission of Enquiry falls into eight divisions: (1) The Land Régime and the Freedom of Trade; (2) Taxation; (3) Military Expeditions; (4) The System of Concessions to Commercial Companies; (5) Depopulation and its Causes; (6) Abandoned or Orphaned Children; (7) The Recruiting of Soldiers and Workmen; (8) Courts and the Administration of Justice. In regard to every one of these items the Leopoldian Commissioners found abuses existing and made definite recommendations for the introduction of reforms. Their verdict in general terms is "Guilty," but the reader of the Report is left to infer what the degree of guilt may be, inasmuch as the testimony of the witnesses, upon which the findings of the Report are based, has never been published, although called for many times by the Congo Reform Association and others interested

in the questions at issue. Let us consider the eight points of the Commission's Report, for these tell us what the Belgian Government inherited from Leopold II as a system.

#### LAND TITLES AND THE RIGHT OF THE NATIVES TO TRADE

Prior to the founding of the Congo Free State, with the exception of a few small holdings by commercial houses on the Lower Congo, no such thing as private ownership of land existed. Life was communal. People dwelt in villages, under their several chiefs, cultivated small plots of land near their homes, hunted and fished in the jungles, open tracts and streams, and utilized natural products of the soil according to their need. The boundaries between villages ruled over by different chiefs were fixed, well defined and understood by the natives, so that it cannot be truthfully said that there were vast stretches of unclaimed land. It was claimed as belonging to the domain of this chief or that; but only a small portion of the whole was under cultivation.

One of the first things to engage the attention of the Congo Free State was this matter of ownership in land. The State decreed, in July, 1885, that the rights of commercial companies who purchased, or acquired land in the Congo, should be respected; and at the same time decreed that all vacant lands should belong to the State. Such tracts as were occupied by the natives should remain in their possession, according to local customs: but for the future, no contract with the natives for the acquisition of lands would be recognized by the State. It does not appear that any definition of "occupied" and "unoccupied" lands was ever made for the guidance of State officers. And so there grew up in the Congo a system of private interpretation, which limited "occupied lands" to village sites and the plots used for cultivation immediately about them. All the rest of the domain was considered "unoccupied" and thus as belonging to the State.

The State having, in this manner, become proprietor of almost all the land, claimed also the absolute right of owner-

ship in all products of the soil, and forbade the natives to settle on any part of the State domain, to gather or to dispose of any products found therein. Since the native, from time immemorial, has been accustomed to change his village sites with some degree of frequency and has led a free life in respect to land areas adjacent to his village, this new régime, which exposed him to arrest and punishment for doing what he had been accustomed to do at pleasure, wrought great hardship and produced both poverty and misery. Except for his own hut and the small cultivated plots about the village, he had no place where he rightfully belonged: he was abroad simply upon sufferance and might be apprehended at any time as a poacher, a fugitive or a thief. The State and the commercial companies holding concessions from the State thus obtained control, and the monopoly of nearly all the lands and produce of the Congo Free State. Rubber and ivory could not be gathered or disposed of to private parties. The seller was regarded as a thief and the buyer as an accomplice, and prosecuted as such. The only hope for the native, outside the small garden patches under cultivation, lay in working for the State or for the Concession Companies. This labor was ill paid in barter goods or in brass rods, of doubtful value.

#### SYSTEM OF TAXATION

The imposition and collection of taxes is recognized as necessary in the conduct of an organized government. After the founding of the Congo Free State laws were enacted which provided that natives should be taxed in labor or in the equivalent of labor. This plan was adopted because (1) it is said that the native is lazy and needs to be taxed in order that he may learn to work; and (2) because it is the only tax universally collectable, since there is no common currency in the country, and since native possessions are so few—a hut, a few weapons, and a small garden patch—upon which to levy in case of default of payment.

In application, this system resulted in forced labor by which rubber, copal, and ground-nuts for exportation; food supplies

as quanga, fish, game and goats, sheep or fowls for the civil and military posts of the State; and special services, as day labor about the posts, rowing, portorage across country, and wood cutting for the government steamships were secured. Theoretically the natives were to be paid for their labor. Practically they were not given any adequate compensation.

The State for some ten years exercised this right to make prestations, without in any way specifying the nature of the tax or the amount of labor to be performed, or the means to be employed in securing it: but a decree of the court, at Boma, in 1903, expressed the opinion that "no one could compel the natives to labor," and so the State had to revise its procedure.

The new law of 1903 fixed forty hours per mensem as the maximum of actual forced labor for any adult, male or female; but this law was never fully put into operation. Where it was enforced, not the time spent in labor, but the quantity of produce furnished was the basis of reckoning. When compensation was allowed, not the value of the produce furnished, but the value of the labor only was reckoned.

These taxes were collected through the chiefs of post and the managers of Concession Companies. Requirements varied more or less in different districts according to the will of the man who happened to be in power. If labor or produce were not forthcoming in the quantities required, the native chief or other inhabitants, sometimes women, were arrested and held as hostages. This resulted in stimulating labor for the time being, but it lessened the dignity and authority of the native chiefs. The length of time defaulters might be detained was never fixed by law. Grave abuses were common and excessive demands from those in authority often compelled many of the natives to spend practically all their time in the service of the State, leaving them little or no opportunity to care for their own gardens or huts, or to hunt and fish for themselves, or to follow the simple crafts of their villages.



## MILITARY EXPEDITIONS

The Congo Free State, at the time of its annexation by Belgium, had an army of some 30,000 native soldiers, officered by Belgians. This large force was employed for the "pacification" of the country, the suppression of revolts, and for maintaining law and order generally. But aside from these more legitimate uses of the military authority, the system of taxes and enforced labor in payment of them resulted in frequent expeditions of the soldiery, the object of which was to coerce recalcitrants and delinquents. The methods employed on such occasions ranged all the way from the simple occupation of a village, as a demonstration of the State's power, to open attack and deliberate bloodshed. The Report of the Commission of Enquiry says:

Often the natives flee at the approach of the troops without offering any resistance; the abandoned village is then occupied or the neighboring plantations. Driven by hunger, the natives return alone or in little groups; they are arrested and compelled to find the chief and the leading men, who almost always make their submission, promising never again to fail in their obligations, and are sometimes subject to fines. It happens also that the natives are slow to reappear, and the patrols are sent to beat the bush and to bring in all whom they may meet. The dangers of this system are obvious. The armed black, left to himself, reverts to the sanguinary instincts which the strictest discipline has scarcely subdued. It is in the course of such patrols that the greater part of the murders, with which the soldiers of the State have been charged, are committed. . . . Sometimes, the military expedition takes a punitive character, the object of which is to inflict exemplary punishment on a village or a group of natives, of which some unknown individuals have committed a crime. . . . Sometimes the most murderous consequences have followed. The expedition may easily degenerate into massacre, accompanied by fire and pillage, the punishment being in flagrant disproportion to the fault, and the innocent suffering with the guilty.

Military expeditions were also sent out by some of the Concession Companies, contrary to law.

In the course of these irregular operations, grave abuses have been committed—men, women and children have been killed, often just as they took to flight, others have been made prisoners, and women have been detained as hostages.

So great did the disorder occasioned by these raids become, that the State in 1900 issued an order forbidding such expeditions by the Companies; but in doing so it placed at the call of the Companies, through the Commissioner of the district, bodies of police which might be called out when the "pecuniary interests of the Company are at stake."

#### CONCESSIONS TO COMMERCIAL COMPANIES

The Report of the Commission of Enquiry complains that "it is on the portions of territory exploited by the concessionaire companies that the greatest abuses are committed." But the State was usually a Partner in the Companies to the extent of one-half their shares in stock and profits. The State in return for these financial considerations granted to the concessionaire companies the right to gather for their sole profit the natural products of the State Domain, and delegated to the companies a portion of its powers in the matter of taxation, including the exercise of compulsion. It happened in this way that the native was compelled to collect for the companies the fruits of the Domain, whether he wished to work or not, and that he received for his labor what the Companies were pleased to give.

These companies have done nothing to ameliorate the condition of the natives in the districts which they occupy. Their officers act . . . as commercial agents, greedy of gain and stimulated by considerable premiums, and as functionaries, charged with the collection of imposts. As the superior officers and the directors of the companies receive still larger premiums than their assistants, it is hardly to be expected that they will exercise a wise control over the acts of the latter.

#### DEPOPULATION AND ITS CAUSES

Thirty-five years ago the population of the Congo was estimated by several explorers, Henry M. Stanley among them, to be all the way from 30,000,000 to 43,000,000. Today it is estimated by missionaries, traders and foreign government officials to be somewhere between 7,500,000 and 10,000,000. It is probable that the earlier estimates were too high; but there can be no denying the fact that the

population has suffered a marked decline. The causes are many. During these years sleeping sickness has gradually crept up the main river and some of its tributaries and has passed beyond the boundaries of the Free State over into Uganda, levying its heavy death toll as it proceeded. Great epidemics of smallpox have afflicted considerable regions. The numerous military expeditions to which reference has been made swept out of existence whole villages and greatly decimated the population of others. The levying of large numbers of men and women for State and Company purposes during which exposure to all sorts of hardships was experienced; the drafting of able bodied men and youth for service as porters, all had the tendency to accelerate the death rate and to decrease the birth rate of the population. It is affirmed by some that the natives being in a perpetual state of fear, and desirous of being able to make their escape from the soldiery should a raid occur, deliberately employed means to prevent child-bearing. The effect of all this is seen in many a village where young children and infants are a rarity.

#### ABANDONED OR ORPHANED CHILDREN

Among the decrees of Leopold II is one of July 12, 1890, which confers upon the Congo Free State

The guardianship of all children set free after the arrest or dispersion of slave caravans, of fugitive slaves who seek protection, of abandoned children or orphans, and of those whose parents fail to fulfil their duties of maintenance and education.

The same decree provides that agricultural and industrial colonies shall be established for the care and training of these children. Two such are in existence, one at Boma and the other at New Antwerp. The age of twelve is the maximum at which children may be admitted. They are to remain under the guardianship of the State till they are twenty-five years of age. After a three years course in the "colony," provided the age of fourteen years has been reached, the children are assigned to service, the boys to the army, the

police, the administration as clerks, interpreters and artisans of all kinds; the girls—as wives for the soldiers.

The Commission of Enquiry found that grave abuses were in existence; that both the State and the Roman Catholic Missions were exploiting the children under cover of the decree; that force was employed in gaining possession of the children in the first instance, and sometimes in retaining them afterwards; that both the State and the Roman Catholic Missions resorted to “recruiting;” that married men were sometimes recruited as orphans, separated from their wives and forbidden henceforth to see them; that many others, who were neither abandoned nor orphaned, were seized and held even in cases where their parents demanded their return. The Report says:

The Fathers establish groups of fifteen or twenty in hamlets surrounded by plantations, which may be met with in large numbers in the district, and which take the name of *fermes chapelles*. The inhabitants of these posts are kept by the State in the strictest tutelage. They possess no private property; the products of their cultivation, the small cattle which they raise, are in general destined for the Mission. They rarely receive sanction to marry or to return to their villages. The greater portion of the natives who people the *fermes chapelles* are either orphans or laborers on contract. They are demanded from the chiefs, who dare not refuse them; and only compulsion, more or less disguised, prevents them from returning. Thus the system tends to illegal proceedings, which appear to have only the most remote connection with the application of the decree on abandoned children.

#### RECRUITING OF SOLDIERS AND WORKMEN

The recruiting of soldiers and laborers for public works is by voluntary engagement and by conscription. The State assumed that it had the right to demand military service from its subjects, and adopted the most common European method, conscription, in securing it. Likewise the State asserted its right to impress people into the service required upon public works of various kinds. The conscription for the army takes place annually, the Governor-General being charged with designating the districts in which it shall occur and the number of recruits required in each. The Com-

missioner of the District works through the native chiefs, who generally nominate the men who are to form the contingent furnished.

There is a law in regard to the securing of free labor on contract, which throws certain safeguards about the laborer and limits any contract to seven years. In regard to the lower reaches of the Congo the Commission of Enquiry found that the law was working quite satisfactorily, but in the upper regions it found

That the law is an illusion, that in most cases the natives, in spite of all precautions taken by the law, find themselves engaged under a contract, the conditions of which have never been explained to them.

It further found that "district commissioners engage, specially for cultivation, children from seven to eight, who find themselves bound for several years in virtue of a contract which perhaps they have accepted voluntarily, but the meaning of which they cannot possibly have understood."

Laborers are legally subject to corporal punishment, the most common of which is whipping with the *chicotte* a long strip of hippopotamus hide twisted and sun-dried. It is very hard and when applied to the bare skin will cut like a knife. Fifty lashes with this instrument is the maximum allowed, and not more than twenty-five shall be applied in one day. The Commission says:

Notwithstanding all the legal restrictions, the use of the *chicotte* gives rise to certain abuses; recourse is had to it too frequently without sufficient justification, and the legal limit is surpassed. . . . It is equally true that these illegalities are not always prosecuted with desirable vigor; for the administrative authority, impressed with the difficulties which its agents encounter, fear to weaken the authority of the white man in the eyes of the natives.

#### COURTS AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Justice is administered through regularly constituted Courts, as follows: Civil and commercial cases are first tried at Boma in the Inferior Court, and in case of appeal,

the Court of Appeals at the same place, with the right of further appeal to the Supreme Court at Brussels. Criminal cases come to the Inferior Court at Boma, to territorial tribunals and to councils of war. The territorial tribunals in 1904 numbered fourteen, and the councils of war were more numerous. The Commission of Enquiry passed three criticisms upon the system of courts. These they say are "serious."

"The first refers to the composition of the tribunals," (that they are so poorly supplied with trained, qualified magistrates); "the second to the number, which is too limited, having regard to the immense extent of territory; the third, to the dependence in which the officers of the prosecuting magistrate find themselves, *vis-a-vis* of the administrative authority."

The abuses growing out of the system the Commission of Enquiry found to be the great hardship entailed upon litigants in having to travel so far to get their cases tried; the undue expense both in time and money, sometimes an absence of seven months from home, and a journey of 1500 miles; the hardship entailed upon witnesses who had to make these long journeys and absences, which many times resulted in death from home-sickness or diseases contracted when away from home; the delay occasioned by an undermanned Bench in bringing cases to trial; the holding of many prisoners as political offenders who were detained often for long periods, apparently without trial, simply upon the order of the Administration.

#### LEOPOLD'S INDIFFERENCE

In the foregoing discussion we have seen what was the system of administration of the Congo Free State, and to what abuses it gave birth. At the time when the civilized world was crying out for a redress of grievances, for the rectification of affairs in the Congo in accordance with the terms of the Act of Berlin, King Leopold II, Sovereign of the Independent State of the Congo, was reaping a golden harvest from the sale of rubber, ivory, copal, ground-nuts, etc., and from the dividends of concession companies in

which the State (*i.e.*, Himself) was partner. He was too busy apparently, at first, to pay any attention to the complaints of those who espoused the cause of the native. But later, he was compelled to attend to the insistent voice of powerful nations, to yield to the force of the accumulated evidence of mal-administration in the Free State. Delays, evasions and denials were followed by the appointment of the Commission of Enquiry, to whose report reference has so often been made in this paper. That Commission in the main substantiated in its report the truth of all the charges which had been brought against the Free State Administration.

#### BELGIAN ANNEXATION

Not until October, 1905, was the Report published; and not until the last day of that month was a committee appointed to make recommendations concerning ways and means to carry out the reforms which the Report recommended. In 1906 rumors began to circulate that Belgium would take over the administration of the Free State, annexing its territory as a colonial possession. In November, 1907, the text of the treaty of transfer from Leopold II to Belgium was published; and in August, 1908, annexation became a fact, and Belgium, at a purchase price of two millions of pounds sterling, took over the Independent State of the Congo as a going concern, with all its edicts, decrees, laws, orders and instructions to administrators; with all its obligations financial and moral; with all its heritage of misrule and its unredressed wrongs. In spite of protests by the United States and Great Britain, in the face of repeated requests by the British Government for guarantees of reform in case of annexation, Belgium asserted that she would, and she did take over the Congo State on her own terms, assuming administration of the State from the moment Leopold II laid by its sovereignty as a personal right, and, without pledge of any kind, under the old laws, beginning her work, not only as the paramount power and owner, but as partner in the great concessionary companies.

It was not until October, 1909, that the Belgian Government put forth its reform scheme, which provided for the redress of many of the grievances under which the natives of the Congo still suffered; and it was not until July of this year (1910) that the reforms became to any considerable degree effective. Continued agitation of years bore earlier fruit in that there was an amelioration of the rigors with which the natives were treated, although the body of laws remained substantially the same.

### REFORMS

The reforms undertaken by Belgium are in the interest of the Congo peoples. It must be acknowledged that a heavy and difficult task was undertaken when annexation was decided upon. If reforms were to be carried out, it meant the uprooting of a vicious system of administration and the entire change of policy and personnel in the Congo State. Her programme evidently is to reform the administration by degrees and by a process extending through a term of years to bring about the desired changes. She has begun by opening out nearly one-half of the territory of the State to the free commerce of nations, restoring to the natives the right to trade in the products of the soil, and to the foreign merchant the right to buy and sell. She has undertaken to introduce a currency in the country—a reform of pressing necessity, for at the time of my visit much demoralization existed in the region of Lake Tumba, for instance, where brass rods were given to the natives in payment for their labor and produce, by State officials, and then refused in payment of taxes by the State. A new scale of taxes was in process of formation in several districts, by which individuals were assessed in fixed sums to be paid, wherever possible, in coin; so much for a man, and so much for every wife besides the first, who is to be untaxed, thus putting the approval of the State upon monogamy, and a tax upon polygamy. The change from a forced labor tax to one in coin is a great gain. In operation it ought to put an end to compulsory service both in the State territories and in the concession areas;



and the opening of the country to freedom of trade will give the natives a chance to reap the profits of their toil.

Within the next two years the greater part of the remaining territory of the Congo-Belge will be opened in like manner; but there is a certain portion concerning which no programme has been announced. It is a matter for rejoicing that reforms have begun, and that it can be said that no cases of atrocity have been complained of during the past twelve months or more. But good as is the beginning, much more needs to be done.

### NEEDS

One of the deep and lasting impressions a visitor to the Congo receives is the almost utter absence of anything designed to benefit the people as a whole. One is tempted to ask again and again, What has become of the tax and other revenues which the Free State has collected for years? Where are the roads, the bridges, the ferries, and the means for communication from place to place? The railway from Matadi to Stanley Pool was constructed by a company and not by the State, and is reaping enormous profits. The piers at Matadi, where the ocean steamers tie up, are the property of the railway and not of the State. Except for a small light at the mouth of the Congo and a few buoys to mark the channel and one pier at Boma, costing probably not more than a thousand or fifteen hundred pounds, there is nothing visible on the lower Congo to show that a State has been interested in improving commercial facilities and building up a country for the benefit of the inhabitants. The paths which lead from one village to another are cleared in many places—but this is done under order to the chiefs, and is unpaid service, I am told. The only bridge I saw was one constructed of poles, and it was so rickety that one had to be very circumspect in walking across it. This was constructed by forced labor under the direction of a State official. In a tramp of 150 miles across country I had to cross many swamps and streams. These had to be waded whenever the water was too deep to allow one to be borne

in a hammock. The only way to cross was to strip and plunge in. Only once did I find a canoe to carry the porters, the baggage and myself across, and this canoe was a private affair, owned by a native. The State has a fleet of steamers on the Upper Congo, but these cannot in any sense be said to be public conveyances. They are for State purposes, and only by grace can passage be secured, after the State has served itself. The towns of Boma, Matadi and Leopoldville are straggling frontier villages, much the same as one found twenty or thirty years ago in the western parts of the United States—mostly frame buildings with corrugated iron roofs. The posts along the upper reaches of the river are often little better than temporary affairs. None of them seem constructed with a view to permanence. The improvement of the port at Leopoldville is the most substantial public work I saw in a journey of 850 miles up the river.

Some idea of the military burdens of the people can be had when it is said that the Government proposes to add 80,000 pounds to the expenditure under this head during the present year (1910). One is again tempted to ask why?

When Belgium annexed the Congo, the latter's armament, according to official returns, included 26,000 Albin and Mauser rifles, 5,250,000 rounds of ball cartridge, 1,600,000 caps, 185 cannon of various kinds and calibre, amongst them seventy-five Nordenfelds, forty-four Krupps and nineteen Maxims.

There are no uprisings imminent; the people are crushed and submissive. Why spend in increasing armaments, rather than in public improvements that which will aid the people to recuperate their strength and develop their resources? The land needs rest from war and the burdens of war.

There seems to be trouble ahead for the Belgians in regard to the concessionaire companies. Only recently one of them, the Kasai Company, has brought suit against the Government for damages to the tune of 1,600,000 pounds sterling, alleging that it has been injured in its business by the opening up of its territory to freedom of trade. It claims that the action of the Government is in violation of the terms of the Company's concession. But the Government itself is a partner (half) in the Company, and so is at once plaintiff and defen-

dant. So long as this anomolous relation of the Government exists, it will be difficult to deal with the questions involved in an open, vigorous and satisfactory manner. The thing needed is that Government should cease being a partner or monopolist in any commercial concern or enterprise, and that it should cease delegating its functions to commercial and concession companies. It should exercise all of its functions of police, magistracy and administration, within concession areas as well as without, and see that the people are justly dealt with and properly rewarded for the fruits of their soil and the labor of their hands.

#### PROSPECTS

All parties who have been long in the Congo believe that at last a new day has dawned. King Albert of Belgium is acknowledged to be a man of gracious bearing and kindness of heart. On his recent visit to the Congo he won all classes and left behind him a fragrant memory. The efforts of the new government to stay the ravages of sleeping sickness, to introduce beasts of burden into the country, to readjust taxation, to provide a currency of stable value, and to open up the country to trade with the outside world, upon equal conditions to all nations, are recognized as proofs of good faith. If the reforms can be further extended, if the villages can be fostered so that peaceful and contented communities may be built up and repeopled with youth and industry, if the taxes collected from the people can be used to develop the country for the people, if military burdens may be lightened and the present method of colonizing "orphans" suppressed, then will the Congo State flourish, its people increase in wealth and happiness, and the land become the fairest in all Africa. Hopeful, but not sanguine that such will be the case, the United States and Great Britain, for the present, withhold recognition of the Belgian annexation.

## CONSTRUCTIVE AND DISINTEGRATING FORCES IN THE SOCIAL AND NATIONAL LIFE OF EGYPT

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Napoleon is said to have remarked most emphatically to the Governor of St. Helena, "Egypt is the most important country in the world." It may belong to some future age and to some great world struggle to vindicate this judgment, but meanwhile there is no difficulty in establishing Egypt's claims to a place of unique interest in the thought of the civilized world. Situated along the highway of world travel, the depository of historic records and of monuments of supreme interest to the human race, the rendez-vous of those seeking pleasant winter diversions, a land of refuge for those wishing to escape from all rigorous weather, an example of almost baffling political entanglements, and most recently visited by a distinguished American and lifted into prominence by his repeated discussion of its conditions, Egypt enjoys, without any apparent abatement, the good or evil distinction of ever holding a conspicuous place on the world stage. To the student of history, Egypt affords an almost unique opportunity for comparing rival religious faiths or rival political powers as these have brought their influences to bear upon an integral section of the human race; for in this Valley of the Nile there have established themselves in successive periods the ancient Egyptian religions, then early Christianity, and finally Islam; while in much more rapid succession there came into this same area as conquerors or political rulers, the Greek, the Roman, the Persian, the Arab, the Turk, and, last and most important, the British. Because of these great religious and political changes through

which she has passed during the more than five millenniums of her history as a nation, Egypt is a land whose history lends itself with peculiar profit to study *in the large*, where broad surveys of entire periods, presenting distinct types of civilization, may be set over against each other bringing to light lessons of history which are altogether missed in the more detailed and specialized study of single periods of national life.

This tempting study, however, is not the object of our present consideration of Egypt. Modern, present-day conditions alone engage our attention. The social and national life of Egypt is the subject under discussion and we wish to examine into the forces affecting that life to discover their character and influence. We will begin with the national life of Egypt.

#### I. THE NATIONAL LIFE OF EGYPT

If you dig down into the soil almost anywhere in the Nile Valley and make careful observations, you can discover the traces of the Nile floods of past years. Here may be a heavy deposit of rich soil and yonder a thin stratum of sand; here a great washing away and yonder an unusual filling in. So with the national life of the country. The political experiences of past years are written, for better or for worse, into the present day national life. The subsoil is that Islamic political organism or system which owes its character to the Arab invasion and to a Moslem domination extending over more than twelve centuries. Then we find traces of Turkish rule, for here is an annual tribute of three and a half million dollars paid to Turkey and, what is vastly more serious, certain concessions called the Capitulations. Next stands the Khedivate, securing for Egypt practical independence from Turkey and securing to her national life a measure of unity and continuity under the leadership of a single family of rulers, with a consequent deliverance from all the vicissitudes of changing governors appointed every few years in a foreign capital. Further on we find traces of French influence, bespeaking those days when both Mohammed Ali and Ismail drew to their help French political counsellors and French

engineers. The former group introduced the new Egyptian nation into the political circles of Europe, enabling Ismail to say, "Mon pays n'est plus en Afrique; nous faisons partie de l'Europe actuellement." It may be an open question whether Egypt's entanglement in European politics has been fraught with blessing or with misfortune, or whether such entanglement was not inevitable anyhow, but so far-reaching have been the consequences of this policy which overthrew Oriental aloofness and brought Egypt into political contact with European powers, that it is well worth while to note the influences which were chiefly responsible for this phase of national development. And these influences were French. As for the French engineers, their scientific skill has witness borne to it even to this day in the continued use of many irrigation works which they put through and in the realization of many other plans which they had projected but could not carry out.

The next influence, traces of which are to be found in the national life of modern Egypt, is what might be called Internationalism. This goes back to the days of 1876 when Commissioners of the Public Debt of Egypt were appointed by the European Powers, and Egypt, so far as her financial interests were concerned, came under the guardianship of these European Powers, but more particularly of England and France.

Then we come to the supreme factor of the British occupation. The part which it has had and which it still plays in the national life of Egypt will be referred to later. Just now we only wish to get clearly before us the forces and factors which have affected and produced the national life of Egypt: Islamic influence, Turkish influence, the Capitulations, French influence, International influence, British influence! What an array of differing and even conflicting forces.

Alfred Milner has summarized the anomalous political situation which obtains in the Valley of the Nile, much after this fashion in his "England in Egypt": Egypt is a part of the Turkish Empire and subject to the Sultan; witness the three and a half million dollars of annual tribute sent to Constantinople! The Khedive is an independent sovereign and Egypt

is his kingdom; witness the firmans of the Sultan! Egypt is subject to the control of the Powers; witness their control of financial affairs and the treaty privileges which they claim, privileges such as no sovereign state would tolerate! Egypt is subject to Great Britain; witness these British troops and British heads of departments!

But not all the factors enumerated as having affected the national development of Egypt, are equally important to-day. Indeed some have almost ceased to attract attention. The Turkish government seems little concerned about Egypt save that the annual tribute be paid. The Khedive once restless and ambitious seems to have realized that after all it is not a bad thing to have Great Britain as his house-keeper, and has turned his attention to the development of his agricultural resources. French influence has distinctly waned and the French government has ceased from much of its querulousness about the British occupation of Egypt, since the compact relative to French influence in Morocco. Internationalism as related to the financial affairs of Egypt is no longer a serious factor, for Egypt is now paying off her debt and the Powers have no opportunity for interfering since their claims are being fully met.

Three factors remain, two of which have already been named and the third remains to be pointed out. The first is the continuance of the Capitulations, the second is the British Control, the third is Nationalism.

The Capitulations date back to the days when Moslem rule was supreme in the Levant. It was recognized that Mohammedan law secured no rights to non-Moslems either as regards the safety of life or the tenure of property. Such conditions naturally discouraged, if they did not wholly prevent, Western traders from settling in Moslem lands, to the great disadvantage of these Moslem lands. Accordingly, the Moslem rulers of Turkey ventured to offer to Western traders certain concessions, making them no longer amenable to the law of the land which was Moslem and which, as such, made no provision for the toleration of a Christian. These concessions were designated Capitulations. Egypt as a province of Turkey was a part of the area within which these concessions

were supposed to obtain. The Capitulations were granted in days of Moslem tyranny and oppression to safeguard to foreign residents certain limited rights. Now, in these days of Moslem political weakness, the Capitulations have become, by a strange irony of fate, the agency whereby foreigners may repudiate local authority and appeal to their own governments for judgment and trial. Should a Greek kill a fellow Greek or an Italian on the streets of Cairo, it is not the local authority which may arrest him and bring him to trial, but only his own government whose consular agent may be all too lax in the enforcement of Greek law, in the prosecution of the particular case, or in the final application of punishment. The injustice and iniquity of these Capitulations can scarcely be denounced too vigorously. The new conditions of security of government and the pledge for even-handed justice which British control gives, are adequate reasons for the relinquishment, under proper safeguards, of these Capitulation rights. In his last report, Sir Eldon Gorst says: "It has been frequently pointed out both by my predecessor and myself that the present system, under which no important law can be made applicable to Europeans resident in Egypt without the consent of fifteen different Powers, has reduced Egypt to a state of legislative impotence, and that the practical inconvenience resulting from this state of affairs is becoming greater every day, as the requirements of the country increase." Since the Capitulations affect the development of the national life of Egypt only as regards the foreign population, this brief consideration of the subject may suffice.

British influence now occupies our attention. Almost three decades have passed since Great Britain occupied Egypt. The work that has been accomplished, the transformations that have been wrought, by British administration, have been repeatedly portrayed and these portrayals have required whole volumes of even succinct narrations. The truth of Lord Rosebery's statement finds abundant support in the recent history of Egypt, that the British Empire is "the greatest secular agency for good known in the world."

To compare the Egypt of 1883 with the Egypt of to-day



is to reveal some startling contrasts, and these contrasts are to the glory of Great Britain. The national debt—the greatest peril of Egypt in 1883—has been reduced by over forty-four million dollars, and has become, considering the country's income, a negligible quantity. The interest charges which the country's revenue must meet annually are four and a half million dollars less than when British administration came into effect. The government revenue, on the other hand, has been advanced from \$45,000,000, in 1883, to \$77,000,000, in 1909. Imports have advanced from \$41,000,000 to over \$111,000,000; exports from \$49,000,000 to over \$130,000,000. The dreaded *Corvée*, or forced labor, has been abolished; so, too, the octroi duties in towns, bridge taxes against boats, fishermen's taxes, while both land tax and salt tax have been reduced.

The Department of Justice also has been reformed. The average case is put through the district court to-day in 71 days, as against 230 days required by the old régime.

Land—the gold dust of the Nile Valley—has advanced in value, so that Upper Egypt land that sold for \$80, or less, an acre sells now for \$300, or more; and Delta farming land that sold for \$350 an acre now is hard to get at \$700 an acre. Add to this the fact that the cultivable area of the country has increased 12 per cent. through irrigation works promoted by British administration.

The fellah, who used to get from one to two piastres per day, now gets three to five, the mason or carpenter gets ten to twenty piastres a day, instead of five to eight as formerly; meat which formerly sold for one and a half to two piastres a pound now brings three to three and a half piastres; butter-oil was formerly two and a half to three piastres a pound, while now it is five; the official rate of interest on borrowed money has dropped from 12 to 6 per cent. and while the fellah used to pay 50 per cent. to 60 per cent. on the money he would borrow, he need now pay only 9 per cent. to 12 per cent.

This is a day of material prosperity in the Nile Valley such as Egypt has not known, perhaps since the days of the early Ptolemies. Nor has Great Britain limited its uplift-

ing activities to material problems. Education has advanced, and both schools and the attendance upon them have gone forward by leaps and bounds. Figures are not available for a full comparison, but in government schools alone the attendance has doubled in fifteen years.

Not unmindful of the ultimate goal of national development, namely self-government, Great Britain has labored, though with scant appreciation of her efforts, to lay some foundations for the future self-direction of Egyptian national life. There have been established a Legislative Council, which is an advisory body, and a General Assembly, possessing a veto power in reference to taxation, both bodies being constituted with a view to a development of the idea of representative government. The measure of progress made in this direction may be suggested by the following extract from Sir Eldon Gorst's last report:

The weak points of the institution at present are that the majority of the members are easily led astray by the more turbulent spirits, and that the chief preoccupation of all of them is to avoid being abused in the native press for want of patriotism, which is the invariable result of any support, however mild or platonic, given to the proposals of the government. With time and patience it may be hoped that the members will free themselves from these faults, and will gradually become able to form an independent judgment on the matters brought before them, without being overawed by the loquaciousness of some of their colleagues, or led astray by Nationalist calumnies. The Government have gone as far as is possible in the direction of giving every facility to the Legislative Council to utilize the powers which they now possess, and no extension of functions is desirable until the proceedings of the Council show that such a course can be adopted without danger to the well-being of the community. In this respect I can only repeat what I said in last year's report, *viz.*, that the future development of the institution must depend upon the wisdom and discretion displayed by the members themselves.

It is important to observe that the establishment of these two institutions which look forward to self-government, was suggested by Lord Dufferin in 1883. It was not pressure from without which caused their establishment but a genuine readiness on the part of Great Britain to forward and, as soon as possible, to grant self-government to the Egyptian people.

Nationalism or the Nationalist Movement is the third factor in the development of the national life of Egypt. It is a movement which defies accurate description. A description which would portray the Nationalism of to-day would be untrue to the Nationalism of to-morrow. Its rallying cry is, "Egypt for the Egyptians." It has underlying it a principle which is legitimate and worthy. It can justify itself by all the arguments which justify democratic institutions and self-government. It can claim kinship to all patriotic movements. It is all this, *but* it is a movement which is yet in its crudest stage and it is well worth while to examine it carefully so that superficial generalizations may not lead to an inaccurate estimate of the present situation.

Nationalism is of comparatively recent origin. This will be found quite natural when we recall that only in most recent times have the Egyptians been sharers in any sense in the government of their country. There was little chance for a nationalistic movement in days of Turkish tyranny. Nationalism at that time could only invite the punishment which belongs to treason and rebellion.

The rebellion of Arabi Pasha in 1881 might, perhaps, be properly regarded as a Nationalist movement, for one of the chief complaints was favoritism shown Turkish officers to the disadvantage of Egyptian officers. If so, there is a suggestion of irony in the fact that this initial Nationalist movement was really the supreme cause of the British occupation of Egypt.

After the British occupation, Nationalism slumbered in Egypt, if indeed it existed at all, until there came to Egypt as to the entire Orient an awakening of the national consciousness, induced by the signal defeat of Russia at the hands of Japan. Education and an increasing acquaintance with Western institutions and governments have undoubtedly contributed to the development of this nationalistic spirit. Recent events in Turkey have naturally suggested to the Egyptian the possibility of similar developments in his own national life. Thus we arrive at the present-day situation.

There is to be found then in Egypt to-day a considerable constituency committed to the somewhat hazy program of

the Nationalist party. The goal of all agitation is the withdrawal of the British and the entire committal of the government to Egyptians. It is confidently asserted that the time is ripe for this great evolution of Egyptian self-government. It is not explained with any great clearness or consistency just who shall constitute the governing body, nor with what safeguards this new government shall be established. The only point at which the Nationalist movement has the opportunity, to-day, of coming into direct touch with the existing system of government is in the Legislative Council and the General Assembly. The use that has been made of this opportunity was shown by the quotation already made from Sir Eldon Gorst's Report. Of course, the Nationalist movement also has access to the wide field of journalism, and its agitations here have borne fruit, perhaps in a measure to public enlightenment, but for the most part only to the inflaming of passions and the development of a partizan spirit.

It is difficult to pass judgment upon a movement which is still in an elementary stage of development, but the following observations may be made without serious risk of their contradiction:

1. The ultimate goal, self-government for Egypt, is not really a matter of dispute. Great Britain is willing to concede its desirability. The real question is whether the time is at hand, or even nigh, for the realization of this desirable issue. The Nationalist thinks he and his country are quite ready for it. Those who know the qualities upon which successful self-government rests are inclined to doubt the ripeness of Egypt for self-government.

2. The backward condition of the Egyptian nation educationally does not justify the ardent hopes of the Nationalist. A nation 94 per cent of whose population is illiterate can scarcely be regarded as ripe for self-government.

3. The supreme need of the non-Christian world, is, however, not mere education, but moral character, such character as carries with it independence of thought and judgment, poise, integrity, even-handed justice, the ability to set aside selfish considerations and view sympathetically the needs of others. And upon such character rests successful self-

government. In common with the entire Orient, Egypt has made more rapid progress in education than in the development of moral character. The moral efficiency of native Egyptian government officials affords abundant cause for congratulation on progress already made, but does not afford any ground for believing that the Egyptian could as yet stand the moral strain of leadership and self-government.

4. The Nationalist movement is too deeply affiliated with an Islamic propaganda to inspire confidence. The cry, "Egypt for the Egyptians" has too often been interpreted in action, "Egypt for the Moslems." The assassination of a Christian Prime Minister and the subsequent justification of the murder by the Nationalist papers does not commend the movement to those in the West who sympathize with every legitimate national movement. It is interesting in this connection to note that the Mufti, the highest exponent of Moslem law, in refusing to sanction the execution of the murderer gave three reasons for this refusal. The first was that as Mohammed had not foreseen and provided against the case of murder by a revolver, no death sentence could legally be inflicted upon any Moslem who took life with that weapon. The second was that the murder of a non-Moslem by a Moslem is not a murder in the eyes of the law and is not therefore punishable by death. The third reason was that as the relatives of the murdered man had not brought in the charge, the murderer should not be executed.

This is not the place to explain in detail how the affiliation of the Nationalist movement with Islamism must seriously discredit Nationalism. It may suffice to point out that one in ten of Egypt's population is Christian and no Christian would be willing to come under a government which affiliates itself with those who hold in respect to Christians' rights such views as those promulgated by the Mufti in his decision. And, altogether apart from any consideration of the interests and safety of either native Christians or of foreigners, and considering solely the probable success of a national movement and its capacity for progress, wedded to Islam, it will be well to remember the judgment which Lord Cromer expressed after a lifelong practical experience with Islam:

"In dealing with the question of introducing European civilization into Egypt, it should never be forgotten that Islam cannot be reformed; that is to say, reformed Islam is Islam no longer; it is something else."

5. The National movement in its insistence upon the privileges of self-government, fails to take adequate cognizance of the perils and responsibilities of complete national independence. There is material prosperity in Egypt today, there are international credits and foreign investments, there is freedom from foreign interference in hundreds of international relations, all because Great Britain, the mistress of the seas, is Egypt's guardian. It is not possible to believe that so small and so weak, so inexperienced and so perilously situated a nation as Egypt, could launch out safely upon a life of political independence. Even British prestige and diplomacy have not yet succeeded in freeing Egypt from the odious Capitulations. How much less able to secure freedom and to maintain freedom would an independent Egyptian State be at the present time!

If we come then to the conclusion that Egypt is not yet ready for self-government, certain broad and general principles of a constructive character should be laid down with reference to the future.

1. The Nationalist movement need not go out of business. It has a legitimate mission in the development of the national life of Egypt. It may and should seek to keep alive and develop the national consciousness of the Egyptian people. Patriotism is a quality sadly lacking in the average Egyptian. Individual unselfishness for the sake of the nation lies at the foundation of Japanese national development; but this is a rare virtue in the Valley of the Nile.

The Nationalist movement should seek to improve, not abuse or despise, the limited opportunity now given to the Egyptian to serve his country and the existing government. He that is not faithful in little cannot be judged worthy of more. The Legislative Council, even with its limited powers, affords a concrete opportunity for proving Egyptian capacity for self-government. The criticisms passed upon this body indicate that it remains as yet an unimproved opportunity.

The Nationalist movement should direct its attention to the elevation of the masses. Self-government is a pyramid which requires a broad base of knowledge and of education, and not merely little or much enlightenment at the top.

2. The British government has before it a double and a difficult task; we may add also a thankless task. It is, on the one hand, that of steadily refusing to accede to the clamor of an over eager Nationalist movement for greater powers of self-government when the nation has not yet qualified for these responsibilities; and, on the other hand, that of using every means for developing the nation for the self-government upon which it is ultimately to enter. It was to the first feature of this task that Mr. Roosevelt referred in his Guild Hall address.

It would be difficult to refer to the task of the British administrator without turning aside to testify to the devoted, the unselfish, the heroic way in which so many British agents have labored for the accomplishment of the task. If any would understand more fully what is here referred to, let them read the Reports on Egypt presented annually by the British Agent and Consul-General to the British Parliament, and mark the herculean undertakings carried through by British administrators without complaint or criticism, but rather with recurring cautions to their British subordinates to avoid every possible friction between British and Egyptian agents. Let them read Lord Cromer's "Modern Egypt" and note the spirit which permeates the book, but which shines out most clearly in the following closing paragraph:

The want of gratitude displayed by a nation to its alien benefactors is almost as old as history itself. In whatever degree ingratitude may exist, it would be unjust to blame the Egyptians for following the dictates of human nature. In any case, whatever be the moral harvest we may reap, we must continue to do our duty and our duty has been indicated to us by the Apostle St. Paul. We must not be "weary in well doing."

At one point only is a reversal of British policy required. We were referring a moment ago to the Nationalist's interpretation of the rallying cry "Egypt for the Egyptians"

so that it is made to mean "Egypt for the Moslems," and we were criticising this injection of religious discrimination in the application of nationalistic principles. There is reason for believing that one feature of the British policy in Egypt has encouraged the Nationalist in this evil course.

Few if any would deny that the British policy in Egypt has been pro-Moslem. Thus we find Egyptian Christians arbitrarily excluded from several departments of government service, although qualifying for them. Native commissioned officers are exclusively Moslem. It is said that even in the days of Ismail more Christians were permitted advancement to the position of *omdeh* of towns and villages than to-day. In spite of superior work in government examinations, native Christians must give precedence to Moslem candidates. Aside from the question of simple justice, this course seems condemned by the argument of policy. This partiality to Islam has developed in Moslem ranks a spirit of pride which leads the Moslem to believe that his religion makes him essentially superior to a Christian and gives him prior rights at every turn in life. If Great Britain would develop a true Nationalism free from religious discrimination, she must herself follow a policy which will place no disqualifications upon non-Moslems but judge Moslem and non-Moslem impartially according to ability and faithfulness.

3. There is a distinct field for missionary and philanthropic service in the development of a true national life in Egypt. And here the opportunity seems to be peculiarly American, for the missionary forces which labor for the uplift of Egypt are predominantly American. Fifty years of continuous effort have availed for the establishment in the Nile Valley of a vast network of Christian schools, primary, secondary and collegiate,—at Assiut is a college with an enrolment of 768 students. And in these schools are gathered 17,530 pupils (almost 4000 of whom are Moslems), no inconsiderable number, indeed more than one-tenth of the entire educational enrolment of the country which is reported upon by the government's department of education. This department covers in its survey all public and private schools which follow Western educational methods. It would lead us too



far afield to present the testimony of many government officials to the service rendered to the nation and the government by the training given in these schools.

If a true and permanent national development is only possible upon the basis of individual character and especially that sort of character which is the best product of Christian teaching and Christian civilization, then a rare opportunity is offered for forwarding the national development of Egypt by the promotion of Christian schools in which moral training may have a place alongside of intellectual development. It is to be noted that government schools in Egypt, owing to Islamic influences, can impart none of that moral training which public and private, denominational and state institutions alike in our own country recognize as an essential part of all true education. There is at present urgent need, therefore, not only for the establishment of many more schools of a secondary grade, but also for the establishment, at a great center like Cairo, of a Christian university where the highest education which the country may demand may be offered to the rising Egyptian generation in conjunction with the moral teachings and training of Christianity.

In view of the large numbers going to Europe, especially to Germany and England, for an education, a special opportunity is also afforded those coming into touch with these future leaders of Egyptian national life, to bring to bear upon them individually influences which will broaden and uplift.

Should these three forces be brought to bear unitedly upon the national life of Egypt—the uplifting influence of a true and worthy Nationalism, the steady and firm, yet kindly and sympathetic administration of Egyptian affairs by Great Britain, and the transformation of individual life and the development of strong leaders by missionary and other philanthropic agencies—who can tell how soon Egypt may be worthy and able to take her place among the nations, herself also an independent, self-governing nation?

## II. THE SOCIAL LIFE OF EGYPT

The term "social life" is frequently used in a broad sense involving the consideration of language, art, music and education generally, social strata, customs of home and public life, filial piety, marriage laws and family life generally. To consider the present day social life of Egypt after this broad fashion would be to write a book. We limit ourselves to the central and essential fact of all social life, namely the position and treatment of woman. In treating of Egypt's social life even in this limited way, we are not breaking with the theme treated in the first part of this paper, namely, the national life of the country; rather are we dealing with a subject vitally related to that theme. The connection between the national life of Egypt and her social life is most admirably set forth in the two following statements of Lord Cromer:

Looking solely to the possibility of reforming these countries which have adopted the faith of Islam, it may be asked whether anyone can conceive the existence of true European civilization on the assumption that the position which women occupy in Europe is abstracted from the general plan? As well can a man blind from his birth be made to conceive the existence of colour. Change the position of women, and one of the main pillars, not only of European civilization, but at all events of the moral code based on the Christian religion, if not of Christianity itself, falls to the ground. The position of women in Egypt, and in Mohammedan countries generally, is, therefore, a fatal obstacle to the attainment of that elevation of thought and character which should accompany the introduction of European civilization, if that civilization is to produce its full measure of beneficial effect.

Again he says:

The European reformer may instruct, he may explain, he may argue, he may devise the most ingenious methods for the moral and material development of the people, he may use his best endeavors to 'cut blocks with a razor' and to graft true civilization on a society which is but just emerging from barbarism, but unless he proves himself able, not only to educate, but to elevate the Egyptian woman, he will never succeed in affording to the Egyptian man, in any thorough degree, the only European education which is worthy of Europe.

Our inquiry into the position of woman in the social life of Egypt is therefore vital to the last degree. This inquiry cannot proceed far without a recognition of the fact that we have to deal with a clearly defined social system, which is neither an accident nor the result of some processes of natural social development. Egypt's social system is the deliberate creation of rigid unbending unchanging Islamic law. The effort is made periodically, but uniformly without success, to show that what we call Moslem social life is not an integral part of the Mohammedan religion. But Islam is not only a religion; it is a political system and it is also a social life. Changes effected in the political or social worlds of a Moslem people are invariably effected at the expense of loyalty to the religion of Islam. This fact is stated here not for any mere purpose of criticizing Islam but that we may appreciate the seriousness and difficulty of undertaking to influence the social life of a Mohammedan land like Egypt.

Considering now the great mass of Egypt's social life, five serious evils are discovered:

1. The first is the seclusion of woman. It is a law of the Moslem social world that the higher the rank in society the more secluded will be the women. The narrowing influence of this social rule can scarcely be overestimated. Add to this, the fact that the seclusion of woman had its initial necessity and suggestion in the immoralities of men and the untrustworthiness of women, and we can more readily understand how degrading in its suggestiveness and its associations is this custom.

2. The second evil is that of the ignorance of woman. It is almost incredible that the census returns for literacy in such a land as Egypt should show only three in a thousand able to read and write.

3. The third evil is an almost entire lack of social fellowship between man and woman. Such social intercourse would naturally be greatly limited, under any circumstances, by the laws secluding woman. But even where close kinship or relationship would permit such fellowship, it is very rarely found. One of the most potent factors in the strengthening or the refinement of character is wholly lost.

4. The fourth evil is the allowance of polygamy. We speak of its allowance, for in many communities where poverty forbids or where Western ideals restrain, there is not the practice of polygamy. Nevertheless the fact that polygamy is legal and that Moslem law distinctly allows four legal wives, robs the wife of a sense of security and the husband of the uplifting influence of an undivided affection.

5. The fifth evil is the most pathetic as it is also the most baneful. It is that of divorce. If our nation is gaining an unenviable distinction by the laxity of her marriage laws and the frequency of divorce, yet to suggest a comparison between the social conditions of Egypt and America would be to attempt to liken what is a mere accident to something which is an essential of life. Men in middle life who have been married ten or fifteen times are only fair representatives of the social life of Egypt, while a leading Moslem has ventured the estimate that at least 95 per cent of all Egyptian wives are divorced by their husbands.

Now turning aside from this listing of defects in the social life of Egypt, the question suggests itself whether there are any constructive forces offsetting these disintegrating social influences. Two present themselves: the impact of Western civilization and the influence of education.

There is too much foreign life in Egypt to permit Egyptian social life to remain ignorant of the differing and higher standards of Western social life. The social freedom enjoyed by Syrian and other Asiatic residents has helped to bridge the gulf between conservative Egypt and the liberal West. The adoption of Western social customs by an ever enlarging group of Egyptian officials is removing much of the obloquy which belonged to any departure from strict Moslem ways. If the impact of Western, especially European life upon Egyptian social life is rendering this liberalizing service, yet it must be noted that all too frequently this contact with the West leads to the adoption of the superficial features or even of the excrescences and defects of Western social life, so that this influence is, to a degree, anything but constructive. Intemperance, for example, is on the increase to a lamentable degree in circles where Egyptian life is brought into contact with European life. It is also an open question

whether the Egyptian is really more moral when, laying aside Moslem polygamy, he apes Western life and announces that he will have but one wife. The immoralities which he regards as a part of the European social life may be more blighting to him than the legalized laxities of the Moslem social system.

A more reliable constructive influence is that of education, especially female education. It will not be hard to realize that such education is still in its most elementary stages when Sir Eldon Gorst's Report is read and there are found in the government primary schools only some 445 girls, while even in the kuttabs or vernacular schools there are reported less than 17,000 girls. These figures show a proportion of about one girl to every ten boys in attendance on schools.

The advantage of schools under Western and especially Christian auspices over those under government and therefore Islamic influences, was referred to a moment ago. This advantage is due to the fact that the Christian institution definitely aims to develop character as well as to impart knowledge. This advantage calls for special emphasis where female education is being considered, and the advantage has been so far recognized that Moslem government officials have been known to take their daughters away from the government schools and place them in the Christian school. It was an institution of this sort—a Christian College for Girls—that Mr. Roosevelt dedicated on the same day on which he delivered that much discussed address before the Egyptian University at Cairo.

The regeneration of Egyptian social life must necessarily be a much slower process than the development of Egyptian national life. It is easy to overturn a government; it is more difficult to transform society. Yet the two are closely related and certainly Egyptian national and political life can never become what it ought to be until it can rest for security and strength upon a transformed social life. The attainment of this worthy object calls for devoted and unselfish labor on the part of statesman, educationist and missionary alike. Their methods may differ but the help and coöperation of all three are needed to usher in the New Egypt which is yet to be.

## THE SUDAN TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

*By Herbert L. Bridgman*

The Sudan which was, which is, and which is to be, each claims our attention. The purpose of the hour is briefly to set forth some of the characteristics and opportunities of this portion of the earth, surrounded now, as in the past by twilight and uncertainty. It is but the plain tale of an American newspaper man, with no obligations to anybody or to anything but to see the truth and to tell it as he saw it, supplemented and, perhaps, reinforced by the recent official reports of the Governor-General, the Provincial Governors, the missionary societies, the university which bears the name of Africa's savior and other official and semi-official information.

It is distinctly not the purpose to enter upon a political, social or economic discussion. That has already been done by an American ex-President, and his words, uttered in Cairo and in London, have been heard around the world, and their echoes are not yet stilled. It is, perhaps, not only becoming but appropriate to say that from the Anglo-Saxon, constitutional government point of view, it is quite impossible to see how his deductions and conclusions, whether his method of imparting and of enforcing them be accepted, could have been other than they were.

Summed up in a word, and with no other than the strict scientific terminology, reduced to the language of plain men, the condition of Egypt and its dependant province, the Sudan, is simply that of a bankrupt, broken-down concern which, having borrowed all that it could and about defaulting upon its interest, its chief creditor has taken over, with the purpose of maintaining it as a going concern until his investment can be repaid. That the creditor should prefer, while he has this duty and responsibility, to employ his own

watchmen and workmen, at least so far as positions of chief command are concerned, is but the dictate of experience, of international law and of common sense. That no other condition would be tolerable, even practicable, is axiomatic. Until young Egypt is much farther along the road of self-control, of effective administration, of popular education, in short, until its electorate has been raised many degrees in the scale and some idea of the doctrines of constitutional government has been appreciated and assimilated, anarchy would be the inevitable alternative, and to surrender the control to the conditions which now exist would be an open invitation and a short road to political chaos and industrial and commercial ruin.

We balk at Philippine independence to-day: Egyptian self-government is but an iridescent dream and must continue to be until by the slow processes of development the electorate has been enlightened and elevated to meet the responsibilities of a free and self-governing people.

The Sudan of the past begins far beyond definite historic knowledge. An Arab word meaning black, it is easy to see that in the beginning the Sudan might have included all the descendants of the eldest brother of the three who peopled the earth. Should we raise the curtain upon the prelude of our drama within well-known historic times, we should disclose the Queen of Sheba at the court of Solomon, perhaps wearing gold ornaments from the the Om Nabardi mines in her domains, which the English capitalists are now working with satisfactory results, while just over the eastern border of the Sudan, Menelik, her lineal descendant as he claims, if he still be living—for his death or report of his death, is of frequent, almost daily occurrence—holds aloft the banner of the lion of the tribe of Judah and guards zealously the faith and the traditions of his illustrious ancestors.

It is not easy to speak of the Sudan in terms of geographic and statistical accuracy. A recent Standard cyclopedia states that the Nile traverses it for a thousand miles, and that it has a population of "several millions." As its longitude data contain nearly 100 per cent of error it is possible that those of population may be somewhat out of the way. Only

a few months ago was the Abyssinian boundary of the Sudan definitely delimited, and on the west, where France is advancing its flag is a zone, not well defined, but by no means neutral where the dervishes and slavetraders of Darfur dispute the jurisdiction of all Europeans. As for the present population of the Sudan, the latest official estimates place it "at two and a half millions," probably a gain of more than 50 per cent since the fall of El Khalifa.

Between the first and the second cataract of the Nile, the steamer ties up for the night at Abu-Simbel, under the colossal sandstone statues of Rameses II, erect and fallen, fronting the funereal mortuary chambers, which may be readily explored by the electric light, installed by thoughtful hands for the convenience of the tourist, while not far to the eastward of one of the southern reaches of the railway, constructed as a military weapon and now maintained and operated as a servant of a rapidly growing commerce, are the ruins of the Roman temples of Mereowe, visible on a clear afternoon as the train speeds on toward Khartoum, the capital.

Later, a thousand years almost, than the Romans, came the Arabs, with keen foresight, establishing at the junction of the White and the Blue Nile, Khartoum, the city to be the centre of so much that was important and dramatic in the history of the valley and of the continent. It would be profitless to rehearse in detail, or to undertake to recite the medieval, even the recent history of the upper provinces; how Egyptian authority, like the tides of the sea, advanced and receded, and sometimes reaching far to the source of the Nile, sometimes blocked and dammed at the first cataract; how even until almost the close of the nineteenth century—but a quarter of a century ago—the age-long forces grappled in a death struggle for the mastery. It seems but yesterday that El Mahdi, like a fiery scourge, swept through the Sudan and threatened Egypt, Cairo, and in his vaunting and frenzied ambition, even the throne of England itself.

It is wholly unnecessary to relate what no one can have forgotten—the heroic struggle, the glorious, barbarous death of Gordon, the long decade of darkness and blackness



which followed, the dauntless, determined assault year after year of Kitchener, until at last the crowning victory, the recapture of the capital, the flight of the Calipha and the remnant of his army, and the restoration of law, order and civilization was accomplished. A year later the last remnant of armed resistance was crushed; when the Calipha, surrounded by a handful of followers was removed, the sanguinary drama was ended and the long night of the province was over. From Kerreri and the fall of Omdurman, September 2, 1898, may be dated the history of the new Sudan. In the years to come, when the province shall choose its national day of commemoration—its birthday, as we the Fourth of July—the day of Kerreri and of the flight of the Calipha will be one of the red letter days on its calendar.

The Sudan, to-day, therefore, is just a dozen years old, an exceedingly brief time in the history of a nation. What has been accomplished it is not difficult to state, and it is also, perhaps, significant that the achievements in the Sudan both demonstrate the wonderful facility and expedition of modern methods in civilization and indicate in some degree what may be the future development of the province. It would be interesting, if one had the time to compare, for example, the first twelve years of any or of all of our North American colonies with the first twelve of the Sudan, and see in how much greater ratio has been the gain in population, in commerce and in agriculture, and in all that goes to make a nation. Steam, electricity and all the modern improvements have been utilized to the fullest extent, enforced and directed, too, by a central, superior, political power which has apparently demonstrated advantages over the personal and the individual method. If one were to survey the Sudan at the re-conquest of Khartoum, only a devastated, almost a depopulated province would have been seen. "Our tears were drops of blood," said an Arab woman to me at Omdurman. Hundreds of villages were destroyed, large sections of the country were almost depopulated, agriculture, a lost art, and, in fact, fire and sword had done their complete work, and ruin and desolation were everywhere.

The first year of British administration the total revenues of the province were but half a million dollars. Last year they were more than ten times that amount, a fact which in itself condenses and at the same time elucidates that which might occupy much more space. The military railway was, of course, in operation, such as it was, partially equipped solely for the use of the army and mails, with no commercial functions whatever, and with a scattered, indifferent and ineffective river service. To-day, the railway from Wadi Halfa to Khartoum has been practically reconstructed, a line extended to the southeast 190 miles to Sennar where it will turn to the westward, crossing the Nile into the great province of Kordofan, and so bring into commercial relations the fertile and ultimately prolific province of the Gezireh, which occupies the great triangle between the White and the Blue Nile. Other extensions of the railway in the Dongola province have also been constructed, and more important than all, the line has been opened from Atbara, near the crossing of the river of that name to the new Port Sudan, on the Red Sea, where direct connection has been made with the commerce of the world. Indeed, Port Sudan, is already beginning to make itself and its influence felt in the commerce of the near East. By it and its breakwater and other improvements upon which five millions of dollars have been expended the Sudan is made absolutely independent of Egypt; can receive and deliver its commerce with the whole world without crossing territory other than its own, a strategic position which some day may come to be of the very first importance. Some of the most important factors which go to make up the commercial development, the present assets of the Sudan, may be gathered from the last annual report of the Governor-General, Sir Reginald Wingate, as follows:

Increase of land tilled, 433,000 acres, of which 133,000 flood cultivation, 313,000 more rain cultivation.

Exports, Millet, 1906 .....	\$40,000
First nine months, 1909 .....	\$640,000
Ratio of working expense, Sudan government Railway	
'09, 78; ratio of working expense, '05, 68.	

Exports, 1909.....	\$2,819,000
Exports, 1908.....	2,065,000
Increase over 1908.....	\$754,000
To Egypt, 1909.....	1,660,000
To Egypt, 1908.....	1,196,000
Increase over 1908.....	\$464,000
Imports—Sugar, 9,337 tons; salt, 2,066 tons; petroleum, 1,017 tons; cotton stuffs, 2,703 tons.	
Exports—Gum, 13,847 tons; dura, 31,212 tons; simsin, 6,334 tons.	
Revenue, '10 exclusive of contribution from Egyptian government (estimated).....	\$5,493,000
Revenue, '09.....	5,063,000
Revenue, '09, land tax.....	609,000
railways.....	1,675,000
steamers.....	655,000
posts and telegrams.....	234,000
customs.....	337,500
Total.....	\$3,510,500
Postal pieces.....	5,189,000
Money orders.....	8,365,000
Parcels posts, C. O. D., '09, 20,000.....	135,000
Parcels posts, C. O. D., '10, 11, 000.....	975,000
	1910 1911
Pupils in kuttabs (native schools).....	2,123 1,781

Already the foundations of a constitutional government have been laid, and in the Governor-General's Council, modeled on that of India, whence many of the ideas and the men of Anglo-Africa have been drawn, established last year, and handling in a limited and secondary manner, it is true, the budget and all credits, proposed laws and regulations and other administrative matters, which the Governor-General or any Provincial Governor may desire to submit, are the beginnings of the future Parliament of the Sudan.

The interesting, often fascinating, history of the Sudan, half legendary and all dramatic, should, however, be regarded as effect rather than cause. The cause persists and will continue to persist so long as the earth, certainly so long as the continent of Africa, endures. It is not too much to say that the Sudan is the strategic key of Africa; to change the figure, that it is the keystone of the arch of British supremacy. It

is not, perhaps, necessary, certainly not intended to encumber memory with figures and details, with miles and degrees and other things in statistics. Perhaps the relative situation and the possibility of the Sudan may be understood by a geographical parallel, as it were. Imagine Khartoum super-posed on our American St. Louis. If the likeness must be more exact, place it at the junction of the Mississippi and the Ohio, and you have a fair reproduction of its relation to Africa. From the mountains of Abyssinia, the Blue Nile comes down as the Ohio from Pittsburg, and from the far distant Lake Victoria to the south, flows the White Nile, as the Missouri from Montana and the country to the far northwest. One hundred and ninety miles below Khartoum throw off to the deep sea a railway as one might to Charleston or Savannah, the distance, however, reduced one-half, and does it need either a prophetic or a strategic eye to see that the power which holds these lines of water and rail communication controls the destiny of the continent?

Emphasizing this control, too, is the fact that the Nile receives, north of Khartoum, no affluent of consequence, so that the power of controlling the Sudan controls not only the travel, the traffic, the access and the transportation between all Eastern and Central Africa and the world, but also, the water, the life blood upon which Egypt exists. In other words, the Sudan is undisputed mistress of the Nile valley, with its waterway to the heart of the continent and all that that implies—a strategic advantage against which no power could possibly contend.

The explanation of the present condition of the progress and the promise in the Sudan is not far to seek. The policy of Lord Cromer in Egypt was to administer the affairs of the country as those of a going concern; to preserve law and order; to stimulate industry and protection, and as a means to that end, to enforce honesty in public affairs; to stop corruption, grafting and incompetency; to give the best possible administration, irrespective of any other consideration than the object to be gained, which was public order and public credit. These same methods have been transferred and made vigorously effective in the Sudan. Nominally, of course, nothing

else could have been, since the Sudan is a province of Egypt, and Sir Reginald Wingate, holding at the same time the title of "sirdar," or commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army, has his headquarters at Khartoum, and there exercises his functions of command, but while the military is ostensibly in full and unlimited authority, it is really an accessory to the civil power and almost solely for police purposes. The spirit of the British administration of the Sudan has been from the beginning one of intelligent, enlightened coöperation with the inhabitants, inviting them to positions of official responsibility and trust, and, on the other hand, protecting them in all the private vocations and pursuits.

But the ravage and the ruin of war were only the superficial problem. The real trouble lay deeper. No such thing as self-respectful, self-sustaining wage-earning work had ever been known in the Sudan. Labor and slavery were synonymous; commerce in the staples and necessities of life had never been known. Articles of luxury, ivory, feathers, gum, a few of the choice woods, gold itself, for which the market was world-wide, and in the same catalogue slaves, were the only commerce which the Sudan had for centuries known. Therefore, the task which confronted the British administrators and the commercial civilization, the economic and industrial order which they sought to introduce must place its foundation far down at the very bottom and beginning of things,—a generation of laborers must be raised. Religious opposition to characteristics widely different between the Christian and the Mohammedan faiths was also an adverse factor to be reckoned with; indeed, it would be difficult to conceive a more unfavorable, unresponsive situation in politics, in race, religion and industry and the entire economic sphere than that which confronted the masters of the Sudan twelve years ago this month. Probably it was rather a fortunate circumstance than otherwise that war and plague had more than decimated the population, so that of its eight millions in the former prosperous and populous times, not more by the best accounts than one million and a half were left.

To build an autonomous, self-sustaining state which could pay its own way, finance its own development, and keep step with the world in the march of progress and civilization was a task to daunt the ablest, clearest heads, the ablest hands, and the most unwavering faith. Surround this, too, with the black, heathen hordes from Abyssinia, southwest through Somaliland, British East Africa, the Congo, and so up to the Sahara on the west, a recruiting ground for the slave traders and land pirates, eager to loot and destroy every outpost of civilization, and the problem is certainly one challenging all which is best in the men assigned to its solution, and in the nation which sends them to the front and which stands behind them in the struggle. It is not to the present purpose to inquire in detail how these excellent and beneficial results have been accomplished. One might almost say of the Sudan to-day as Webster of Massachusetts, "There she is; look at her!"

To those who, however, desire to go a little deeper, who would learn from the British experience, who would perhaps be willing to apply to our own island dependencies the lessons which the Sudan readily affords, the careful and intimate study of the records and of the reports is particularly commended. Recognition from the first and to the fullest extent has been accorded to religious faith, to social customs, to racial prejudice; indeed, non-essential differences of every sort have been minimized and everything subordinated to the great work of administering justice, of maintaining order, of promoting education, of extending transportation, of enlarging the area and products of agriculture; in short, of strengthening and stimulating the symmetrical and harmonious growth of the country as a whole.

A handful of European troops has elevated and vitalized the morale of the native until the Sudanese rank and file are the model and the envy of their white allies and instructors; civil servants in all departments are selected with the most exacting care and not only as to their mental and professional qualifications, but to their adaptability to their surroundings; their appreciation of native character and customs and, generally, of their ability to fit into the scheme of

things and work with their native associates, harmoniously and for the common good. It is no small thing to say of the European service, both civil and military, in the Sudan, that the slightest taint of graft or corruption, of star routes, of beef and hay contracts, of padded pay-rolls and other penitentiary practices which have scandalized every one of our own war records, has yet to be discovered.

Apart from the official administration of the Sudan, closely allied to it, under a patronage and with a recognition of which we have, perhaps, no counterpart, are three institutions which have been of the greatest service in the development of the province.

The Gordon Memorial College, of which King Edward was the honorary patron and Lord Kitchener is the president, with trustees representing the best of the empire, and an able, progressive and thoroughly alive corps of instructors, with the Wellcome Research Laboratory, founded and endowed by our own American fellow-citizen, Henry S. Wellcome, has taken a foremost part and has already wrought a mighty work in the civilization of the Sudan. Sharing in the allotment of public funds for education, its contributions not only to the welfare of the province, but to the scientific knowledge of the world, returns manyfold, if it were fitting to speak in such terms, all that it costs. Addressing itself primarily to the immediate problems of sanitation, of physiology, of both human and animal, of soil fertility and of many other topics of practical and direct importance, the work of the college and of the laboratories has been not only of the highest value, measured in dollars and cents to the people of the Sudan, but has taken high rank in the scientific world. No more important, nor creditable annual reports come to the libraries of European and American universities and institutions of research than those from the Gordon College, and when one recalls that the chief surgeon of the Calipha's army contributes an article upon the healing art as practiced by the dervishes, one appreciates, perhaps, as in no other way, that the fighting forces, at least, of a dozen years ago have been thoroughly reconstructed, and when one finds further along many pages of refined chemical analysis and

discussion, with delicate experiments by the Philadelphia professor, William Beam, one learns again the extent of the processes of selection, the breadth of the field from which the talent is drawn, and the large and catholic spirit with which the whole institution is administered. In arts and letters, too, and in manual training also, the college is strong. Classes of the young sheikhs are instructed in civil law, in the traditions of their race and the elements of an English course, that they may return to their native villages and take up professional life and magisterial duties, while forges, pumps and electrical plants, made and installed by the young Arabs, give forcible demonstration of the instruction which they receive and of the promise which they offer to their people.

Later than the Gordon College, but perhaps fully equal to it in its influence and effect upon the province, is the Anglican Church, the efficient and competent head of which, the Bishop of Khartoum, the Rev. Llewellyn H. Gwynne, followed the flag into Omdurman and, remaining from that day to this, has traversed the valley of the Nile from the first cataract almost to its source, and with Khartoum as a centre, established missions and outposts wherever the opportunity offered. Sir Reginald Wingate, far more than an official patron, a sympathetic and energetic co-worker, has aided the Bishop at every point, and to the united efforts of these, a combination of example and of faith which it would be rare, perhaps impossible, to duplicate, the beneficent and enlightened work of the church has been carried steadily forward until magnificent achievement is in sight. Six and a half years ago Princess Henry of Battenburg, laid the cornerstone of the Cathedral in Khartoum; last spring Theodore Roosevelt assisted at the setting of the keystone in one of its arches, and the early completion of this temple of the living God in the heart of this wilderness is assured. The Cathedral and its erection are an excellent illustration and object lesson of the British method in secular as well as religious matters in the Sudan. King Edward, Lords Cromer and Strathcona and many of the foremost Britons have contributed to the Cathedral as a political as much as a religious fact, a demonstration to the Arabs, who have lately com-



pleted in Khartoum the finest mosque in the province, that the Christian also values his religion and, moreover, he plants in the heart of Africa a cathedral which declares his intention to remain a permanent and beneficent presence. No more convincing appeal in the name of Christianity, of law and order, could be made to the Moslems of the Sudan than the stately cathedral will express.

The third collateral and coöperative influence in the restoration of the Sudan is that of the missions, in which we may be proud to say America plays a leading part. The stations of the United Presbyterian Church at Khartoum, at Doleib Hill on the Sobat, just above its junction with the Nile, and at Atbara, where the Nile flows in flood under the bridge of the Philadelphians, are all centres of light and of mercy. Ten thousand medical treatments in a year, even though the total contributions are less than one thousand dollars, and the communicants but one hundred, indicate that the forlorn hope is justifying itself, the faith which it exercised and that which supports it, and the hope that at no distant day the recipients of so much for the body will desire something for the mind and soul. The Austrian Catholic White Fathers, the stations of the English Church Missionary Society are also working similar deeds of beneficence in harmony with each other and with the approval and coöperation of the administration.

It should not be forgotten that the mission question has a political as well as a religious side. No race is more tenacious of its traditions, its dignity, its religion than the Arab, and to attempt to set up openly a rival faith and to propagate it against that entrenched by centuries would be almost certain to bring on the gravest complications and perhaps to unsettle the very foundations of the state and of social order.

As to the Sudan of the future, prophecy is difficult, speculation easy. The review, hasty and imperfect, of the last dozen years, is, perhaps, sufficient to indicate in a general way what is reasonably, practically certain for the future. That the ratio of increase can be kept up is, of course, impossible; but that the province will become prosperous, self-sus-

tainings and, perhaps, independent, is wholly within the limits of reasonable expectation. Cotton, equal to that of Egypt, finest in the world; wheat, sugar, tobacco, all these staples are certainly within easy possibility, provided, only, a system of irrigation be developed, while curiously enough, the province of Tokar, last year, exported sufficient maize, our ordinary Indian corn, to supply practically the whole of the Egyptian demand. Should future generations, as those of the past, go down into Egypt for corn, it is quite possible that the dwellers in Tokar and in its vicinity may find an ample market for a crop with which they seem to have had unexpected and most encouraging success.

The trade in gum and in rubber from Kordofan steadily increases; artificial cultivation is in a favorable state of development, while the high ranges of the province are certain, under intelligent development, to produce herds and flocks of all our common domestic animals. The alluvial plains of the White Nile, now covered with scrub and shrub, ranged by the undersized and underbred Shulla and native cattle, can certainly sustain immense droves of far better and finer strains if, indeed, the land be not much more profitably taken up with the tilled crops, for no prairies of the West offer a more inviting or prolific soil. But more important than any of these incidental and local developments, even though they unlock the treasures of the earth and invite and sustain a dense and thriving population are the great, almost colossal works in irrigation, involving engineering achievements of the first magnitude, to which, perhaps, only our Panama canal is comparable. Draining the great swamps of the Bahr el Ghazal, upon which the preliminary work has already begun, means not only the salvation of the Sudan and of Egypt, so far as the water supply is concerned, the saving of three-fourths of the discharge from Lake Victoria now wasted by evaporation, but the uncovering and opening to cultivation of an area as large as the entire State of New York, which must surpass in fertility any of equal size on the face of the globe. For ages, the riotous papyrus has grown and rotted in its shallow waters, and once the light of the sun is allowed to strike the dry land when it shall be uncovered, the

garden spot of the world will be revealed. Then, in the matter of transportation, the draining of the swamps will undoubtedly deepen the channels of the Nile, the railroads will throw off branches, tapping centres of commerce and of industry; the great works at Port Sudan upon which millions of dollars have been expended will be enlarged, the Cape-to-Cairo Railroad will be a fact, and the future of the Sudan will justify the faith and the labor which it has cost.

A sermon as long, even as discursive and superficial as this, warrants in closing an application or two which shall be stated with becoming brevity and modesty. An American Consulate in Khartoum is worth serious and immediate consideration. Britain and Germany control the markets of the Nile Valley, but the demand is for oil, cottons, agricultural implements, sewing machines, typewriters and other tools of civilization, in which we invite the world's competition. The native, erect women of Khartoum bring up on their heads the Blue Nile water in tins once filled with Standard oil, and there is no doubt that the markets are already whitening for the commercial harvest.

An American offering to the building fund of the Anglican Cathedral at Khartoum would be a gracious and profoundly wise act, whether considered from a religious or international point of view. "Let the Englishmen build their own churches, we have demands of our own," is but a narrow, irrational answer. The Christian religion and all its institutions are on trial in Africa, and the task of Great Britain is the white man's, all white men's burden. The day may come when the white race will be glad of the help of the black against the yellow and an American investment in African civilization will be repaid a hundred-fold. The Sudan leads the way in the upward march of the Continent so long dark, toward the light. Progress, to be certain, must be normal; the commercial and the secular, by natural and inevitable law, but precede the intellectual and the religious: and in the fullness of time the redemption of Africa will be complete.

## TURKEY AND THE UNITED STATES

*By Philip Brown, Late American Minister to Honduras and  
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Turkey undoubtedly suggests to the ordinary observer little more than pillage and massacre. "The Unspeakable Turk" epitomizes for many the character attributed to the Turkish race for centuries. The only adequate solution of the "Eastern Question" has frequently been asserted to lie in the expulsion of the Turk from the Bosphorus.

It would be useless to attempt to minimize or gloss over the cruelties which have been practised for centuries on the Christian subjects of the Turkish Empire. It would however, be grossly unjust as well as historically inaccurate to place the blame on the whole Turkish race. Generalizations of such a nature applied to other peoples than the Turks would in many instances be quite as unjust. The hanging of witches, the lynching of negroes, the murder of innocent Italian and Chinese laborers in our own land can no more be laid to the whole American people than the pillaging of helpless peasants by the Kurds, the massacre of thousands of Armenians by order of a red-handed sultan, be imputed to the alleged sanguinary instincts of the Turkish race.

An entire people cannot justly be branded with responsibility for the crimes committed by an irresponsible autocrat whose every action was inspired by an insane fear of assassination. The terrible reign of Abdul Hamid has probably been in large measure responsible for the present general prejudice against the Turk. We are led to forget that, according to their lights, some of the preceding sultans were men of liberal tendencies and that their subjects enjoyed a degree of tolerance and privileges denied certain other peoples of Europe.

If we are to judge fairly of the Turk, we must not lose sight of his awful inheritance: the lamentable conditions prevailing under the ancient Eastern Empire: the wars of conquest that devastated that part of the world for centuries: the extortions of the tax gatherer: the bitter, religious strifes that invariably ended in the shedding of innocent blood. These are gloomy facts of history and it should not seem so extraordinary a phenomenon that the rule of the Turk over different Christian races, hating each other with as intense a hatred as Moslem and Christian ever felt, should have been relentlessly severe and at times attended by the shedding of blood.

We cannot of course ignore the spectre of religious fanaticism whether of Moslem towards Christian or of one Christian sect towards another. We should, however, try fairly to conceive the colossal task which would have confronted any other nation than the Turks that might have been entrusted by destiny with the responsibility of ruling over the hostile and apparently incompatible elements composing the Turkish Empire.

Consider the conditions in European Turkey. Who can reconcile the racial prejudices and conflicting ambitions of the Greek, Bulgar and Turk? Who could be rash enough to offer with confidence an adequate solution of the "Macedonian Question"? Who would venture to solve that extraordinary problem presented in Albania?

Consider the Asiatic provinces of Turkey: the demoralized remnants of the defunct Armenian nation: the marauding, untamed, Kurdish tribes: the Druzes in the Hauran, recently in arms against the government: the factional disturbances never ceasing in Arabia which has yet to be entirely subdued to the rule of the Turk.

What fair-minded man can withhold from the Turk in the face of these baffling complications, a generous sympathy or fail to recognize the almost insuperable obstacles which would confront any other nation that might undertake the burden of governing the Turkish Empire?

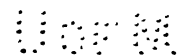
An important consideration to be borne in mind in judging the Turk is the fact that it was not the Christian Rayah

alone who suffered under the bloody reign of Abdul Hamid. Many a Moslem was subjected to untold cruelties. Many Turkish homes were bereaved and life made intolerable for those who on the flimsiest grounds incurred the suspicions and illwill of the sultan and his army of murderers. Many of the youths of the best Turkish families were tortured and sent to a dreadful exile from whence few ever returned. On the establishment of the constitution a general pardon was granted all who had been imprisoned and exiled on political grounds but for very many this pardon arrived too late.

That reign of terror is very vivid in the minds of many foreigners who, unable to afford much help or protection, suffered in sympathy with the Moslem as well as with the Christian victims of Abdul Hamid. And yet what notice did the humanitarians of Europe and America take of the Turkish sufferer? *His* grievances were ignored and the sympathy of such well-meaning organizations as the Balkan Committee in England was reserved for the warring Christian factions in Macedonia who, perhaps, were reaping as much the harvest of their own mutual hatreds as they were suffering from the misrule of Abdul Hamid. This popular agitation in Europe over the demoralized state of affairs in Macedonia undoubtedly hastened the revolution of July 1908, whose object was primarily to avert the dismemberment of the empire immediately threatened by the projected Macedonian reforms. But it should never be forgotten that the ultimate purpose of the revolution was the establishment of a constitutional régime that should ensure the blessings of liberty to the *Turk* as well as to the Christian.

All these considerations should be borne in mind in judging of the Turk in general and in forming an unbiased estimate of the new régime in Turkey. We should never lose sight of the accumulated ills of centuries inherited by the Young Turk and the peculiarly complicated problems he has to solve.

While to many observers the progress being made under the new régime appears to be of an exaggerated 'festina lente' variety, there are not lacking appreciative critics who believe



that the Young Turks are doing better than could have been expected. It is as much a wise precept as it is a notorious fact that "you cannot hustle the East."

Since the bloodless revolution of 1908, there have been several junctures when in the face of treason at home and dangerous complications abroad, it seemed as if the achievements of the Young Turks would be swept away and a worse state of affairs ensue than was ever known before. With admirable tact and statesmanship, with firmness and tolerance, they rose splendidly to the emergency and earned the increasing admiration of the outside world. Kiamil Pasha, Ex-Grand Vizier, Said Pasha, Ex-Grand Vizier and now President of the Senate, Hussein Pasha, Ex-Grand Vizier and formerly Inspector General of the Macedonian Vilayets, Rifaat Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mahmoud Shevket Pasha, Minister of War and General in charge of the army that re-occupied Constantinople in April, 1909, Ahmed Riza Bey, President of the House of Deputies, Halil Bey, leader of the party of Union and Progress in parliament, Hakki Pasha, now Grand Vizier, once Turkish commissioner to the Chicago Exposition, Talaat Bey, Minister of the Interior, Djavid Bey, Minister of Finance and many others associated with them in directing the affairs of the Empire, compel a revised estimate of the Turk as known under and previous to the régime of Abdul Hamid.

The European powers have been compelled to recognize that a new factor of unknown force and tendency has arisen in the Near East, a factor that exacts respect, that requires a sweeping readjustment of their diplomatic relations with Turkey and a new orientation of their policies in that part of the world. Austria, under the exigencies of an abnormal *status quo* in Bosnia-Herzegovina, was the first to appreciate this fact. Under the old régime, each nation felt constrained to be its own judge as to the effective protection of its interests in Turkey, employing at times methods in flagrant derogation of the rights of Turkish sovereignty. But the European powers have openly or tacitly been forced to acknowledge that it is now necessary to reckon with a constitutional government prepared to afford proper protection

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to foreign interests and to resent vigorously any further lesions of Ottoman rights.

It is not to be expected—nor do any of the enlightened Turkish statesmen so pretend, that a complete abolition of extra-territorial privileges now enjoyed by foreigners may be warranted in the immediate future. With increasingly effective guarantees to life and property under a constitutional government, it is, however, to be expected that one by one these privileges will cease to exist, either by reason of disuse or the positive acquiescence of the powers. As an example, it is confidently to be assumed that with an honest efficient administration of the Ottoman Postal service, the foreign postoffices now maintained at certain points in Turkey will be withdrawn in the not distant future. Count Ostrorog, legal adviser of the Turkish Ministry of Justice is quoted to have stated in this connection that:

According to the admissions even of the most impartial and most eminent, legal authorities, it is plain that the wide application of the Capitulations<sup>1</sup> has given rise to uncertainty, to useless differences and sometimes to acts absolutely contrary to law and equity. It is desirable for both parties to the Capitulations, in order to establish wise and sincere relations, to put an end to this situation. It is necessary to revise the provisions of the Capitulations: to remove the causes of controversy as well as all which is of a character to wound the national *amour-propre* and cause friction in the relations between Ottomans and foreigners: in sum to find a temporary *modus vivendi* based on friendship, law and justice. This is what the Imperial Government asks. (*Translation from French.*)

While for obvious reasons it is not an easy matter for the European powers to adjust themselves to the new order of things in the Near East, no such difficulty exists for the United States which, having no political ends to serve, has aimed solely to ensure an adequate protection of American interests in Turkey without injury to Turkish pride or sovereign rights. What is required of the United States is a clear perception of the new conditions created by the exist-

<sup>1</sup>Capitulations were those sections of early treaties between Turkey and other powers, on which the extra-territorial privileges of foreigners are based.



ence of a responsible constitutional government in Turkey and a full realization of America's commercial opportunities as well as of her obligation to manifest sympathy, so far as may be feasible, to those Turkish patriots now engaged in the Herculean task of adapting democratic institutions to adverse conditions.

Formal diplomatic relations between the United States and Turkey date from the negotiations for the Treaty of 1830. Prior to that time the protection of American interests was in the hands of the English Levant Commercial Company which charged generously for its professional services as a diplomatic agent.

The questions which have arisen between Turkey and the United States have rarely been of a commercial character but have been largely confined to the rights of American missionaries and philanthropists to carry on their beneficent work as freely and unhindered as the representatives of other nations, engaged in similar work. Under the baneful rule of Abdul Hamid, the American government was constantly obliged to use strenuous representations to obtain punishment of those responsible for the failure to protect American persons and property, to secure in some instances the payment of indemnity for such failure, the punishment of murderers of Americans, the right to travel freely and other rights guaranteed by the law of nations and by treaty. The famous abduction of Miss Stone was one of the instances which called attention to the conditions prevailing under the rule of Abdul Hamid, though it is by no means clearly established that the Turkish government could be held directly responsible for this unfortunate incident.

A constant subject for discussion between the Porte and the American government was the question of the recognition of American missionary and educational institutions on exactly the same basis as other foreign institutions of a like nature. Cases involving this right frequently arose, such as for example the momentous question as to whether an American missionary might base the right to import a brass bedstead for home use on privileges accorded French monks

under the Capitulations to introduce, free of duty, articles necessary for the monastery. This matter of the recognition of American institutions, after years of fruitless negotiation and discussion, was only settled in principle in August 1904, through the able representations of Ambassador Leishman, effectively supported by President Roosevelt and Mr. Hay, Secretary of State. Exact statistics are not at hand but the number of institutions affected by this arrangement is more than three hundred and the money invested in them may be counted by millions.

Another abstract question which has given rise to interminable discussion and disagreement has been over Article IV of the Treaty of 1830, whereby the United States has claimed the right to try and punish American citizens, criminally accused, a right which is claimed by no other nation except Belgium. This controversy owes its origin to a divergence in the interpretation of the Turkish text of the Treaty, which was accepted as the only authoritative text in case of dispute, and owes its continuance mainly to those insupportable conditions existing under Abdul Hamid, that rendered it impossible to submit American citizens to the exclusive jurisdiction of Ottoman courts. The American government has ever shown a conciliatory disposition in its negotiations with the Turkish Government over this moot point of the interpretation of Article IV and, as this is mainly a question of interpretation, there should be no serious obstacle in the way of a satisfactory solution of the difficulty, given the same conciliatory disposition on the part of the Turkish government as well as its ability to accord justice to foreigners. An adjustment of this difference in a manner pleasing to Turkish *amour propre* would be a happy event which should prove of mutual advantage to both Governments.

Another troublesome question long at issue between the United States and Turkey, has been the refusal of the latter to recognize the right of its subjects to change their nationality without the previous consent of the Ottoman government. The naturalization of so many Armenians in the United States and their return to their native land either

for a brief or prolonged sojourn, gave rise to many complicated diplomatic questions during the reign of Abdul Hamid, whose hatred and cruelty towards the Armenians was notorious. In the absence of a treaty of naturalization with Turkey, each of these instances of the deportation or arrest of American citizens of Ottoman origin had to be judged on its own merits and, as a rule, either by reason of American law and policy or the constraint of humanitarian considerations, the American Government was compelled to protect its naturalized citizens from the injustice and cruelty of Abdul Hamid. Since the establishment of the new constitutional régime, however, although very many naturalized Americans of Ottoman origin have returned to their native land, little has been heard of this troublesome question. With improved conditions of life in Turkey, not only should this cease to be a matter of controversy but it should not be difficult to negotiate with The Porte a naturalization treaty similar to those made with other nations.

In regard to the standing of American institutions in Turkey, it may be summarized by the statement that they were cursed under the old régime and are praised under the new. They were cursed under the old régime because they were so many beacons of hope in a pitiful darkness, a darkness that best served the evil designs of Abdul Hamid. Except by the extreme fanatics and Chauvinists, they are praised under the new régime because the enlightened Turkish leaders are anxious to spread the light of higher morals and those principles of self-government which the American educator and missionary so effectively inculcate.

Those who have been privileged to come into intimate contact with the remarkable men and women whom America has been sending out to minister philanthropically in Turkey, unite in testifying to their culture, their high intellectual standards, their forceful personalities and their devotion to the ideal and to duty. While other nations have largely been absorbed in forwarding political and commercial ends in Turkey, America, whose people are so tritely accused of being commercial in their instincts, has been giving that country its best manhood and womanhood

without contemplation of other gain than the consciousness of having done its part towards other needy members of the great human family.

If the need for American schools, missions and hospitals in Turkey has been great in the past, there would seem to exist an unequalled opportunity for their services at the present time. These institutions have never professed to proselytize among Moslems nor do the latter apprehend such a propaganda. Their practical results have been largely the raising of the general standard of morality among peoples already Christian. It may fairly be asserted that what was originally a missionary crusade has now become to all intents and purposes an educational undertaking. As such it has a wonderful opportunity under the new constitutional régime to aid most effectively in the stupendous task of enlightening peoples long in darkness and of fitting them for the heavy responsibilities of self-government.

But there is another practical aspect of this matter. It should be evident that the presence of so large a number of Americans in Turkey engaged almost unconsciously in the spreading of American ideals and ideas, cannot fail to prove of definite, commercial value to the United States. An interest in *things* American is undoubtedly created and a desire to possess the implements, machinery and general mechanical contrivances which have been so essential to the marvelous development of the United States.

It is a lamentable fact that American exports to Turkey have failed to achieve the proportions to have been expected. The balance of trade is disproportionately in Turkey's favor as may be seen by the following table of statistics:

IMPORTS FROM	TWELVE MONTHS ENDING JUNE			
	1908	1909	1910	Totals
Turkey in Europe.....	\$ 4,554,509	\$ 6,393,468	\$ 8,689,769	\$ 19,637,746
Turkey in Asia.....	6,205,061	6,035,660	8,514,132	20,754,853
Turkey in Africa (Tripoli).....	1,614	6,650	96,662	104,926
	\$10,761,184	\$12,435,778	\$17,300,563	\$40,497,525
EXPORTS TO				
Turkey in Europe.....	\$ 1,418,024	\$ 1,896,249	\$ 1,613,168	\$ 4,927,441
Turkey in Asia.....	555,376	621,893	744,504	1,921,773
Turkey in Africa (Tripoli).....	3,010		14,232	17,242
	\$ 1,976,410	\$ 2,518,142	\$ 2,371,904	\$ 6,866,456

Balance of trade in favor of Turkey for period 1908-1910: \$33,631,069.

The establishment of the constitutional régime in Turkey, with its increased guarantees of protection to life and property, has made it possible to open up to trade enormous districts heretofore almost completely closed: has made available for cultivation large tracts of land such as the once famous region of Mesopotamia; has brought to light mineral properties of inestimable value; has consequently made urgently necessary the construction of thousands of miles of railroad, the introduction of electric roads, the development of electric power; in sum has disclosed a tremendous market for trade and a splendid field for investment.

Heretofore, the Turkish government, in its extremely difficult task of avoiding offence to the susceptibilities of the several European powers having conflicting ambitions in the Near East, and also in its necessity of obtaining at crucial moments the diplomatic support of one or more of these powers, has been compelled to award valuable concessions, place loans, give immense contracts for armaments and the construction of ships and other big commercial privileges at terms often very far from advantageous. In fact, while the Turkish government, in principle, may resolve to favor only the lowest bidder in all these transactions, in

actual practice for a long time to come, in all probability, it will be influenced considerably by political considerations, until the day arrive when Turkey may be strong enough to exact respect for an entire independence among the nations, which it has not yet been able to enjoy.

From the foregoing observations it would seem evident that Turkey has great need of capital to aid in its regeneration and development and that it should seek this capital where it may be obtained most advantageously, without political compromise or any obligations whatsoever other than those entailed in any ordinary financial transaction. It would also seem evident that no nation is in a better position to assist Turkey in its future commercial development than the United States which has no political ends to serve and may well pride itself on the part hitherto played by America in the Near East.

The opportunity for the United States to participate in the development of the Turkish Empire would seem to need no demonstration. Yet it is by no means clear that the American public fully realizes this opportunity or has that general, keen interest it should have in the efforts being made with the support of the American Government and its representatives, to forward successfully American interests in the Near East. One powerful reason why Germany is so successful in her commercial expansion is the fact that every German takes a live personal interest in the extension of trade and all pull together for that end, with especially good success in Turkey. A great game for big stakes is going on in that country. American financiers and manufacturers are striving against great odds to win. The American public should not remain indifferent to this game and should be fully alive to the important transformation going on in the Ottoman Empire.

While the United States wisely has no intention of becoming involved in any political controversies in the Near East, we must not forget that having attained a man's estate among the nations, America cannot, even if it would, fail to play its part as a great world power and refuse to share in the commercial as well as the moral and intellec-

tual welfare of the other nations of the world. The United States cannot afford to remain indifferent to the great changes now taking place in the Levant nor can it ignore the fact that under modern conditions commercial advantages cannot be won without the active support of the American government or the employment of the great prestige America so justly enjoys and is bound to maintain. While it may be held in theory that governments should not intervene in the operations of trade, it would seem folly for the United States to fail to stand by its citizens when other nations such as England are aiding by means of subsidies to protect its merchant marine and Germany is wholeheartedly helping German merchants and manufacturers to win a great commercial ascendancy even in this Western hemisphere. It is futile to idly lament this undoubted tendency. Our duty would seem to be to loyally reinforce the efforts of the government to effectively support all legitimate measures for the extension of American commerce and the forwarding of American interests throughout the world.

It would be presumptuous to attempt to indicate the various diplomatic means which may very properly be employed in this great undertaking. There is every reason to believe that President Taft and Secretary of State Knox, who has created a most efficient Division of Near Eastern Affairs in the State Department, both fully appreciate America's great opportunity and are prepared to do all in their power to advance American interests in Turkey. What must be re-emphasized is the necessity of awakening public interest in the tremendous commercial game now being played in that part of the world in order to appreciate intelligently the policy being pursued by the government at Washington in this regard and to give to that policy the enthusiastic support of the whole American people.

We should moreover, remember the obligation resting on us to sympathize generously with any people who may be struggling to secure the privileges of democratic institutions, whether in Latin America, China or the Near East. The Young Turks deserve and need the heartiest encourage-

ment in their gigantic task of adapting democratic principles to Oriental conditions and the day may come when the voice of the American people, without fear of political entanglements, will be of no little influence in pleading for Turkey the right to achieve, unhindered by foreign intrigue, that place among the nations which the God of nations may have destined it to possess.

It cannot be denied that there are many who do not wish to see the rule of the Turks perpetuated; those who still feel towards the Moslem something of the spirit of the old Crusaders; who have ineradicable prejudices that preclude fair judgment, who honestly doubt the capacity of the Turk for administration, his ability to assimilate principles of self-government; who question the adaptability of the Faith of Islam to modern progress. It should not be difficult, however, in our consideration of the relations which should exist between the United States and Turkey, to agree that there is every good reason to be proud of the work of American institutions in Turkey; that these institutions have still a mission to fulfill; that the new constitutional régime has opened up magnificent commercial opportunities; that the United States is in a peculiarly favored position to take advantage of these opportunities and finally that we ought not to rest indifferent to the efforts of the Young Turks, who, against disheartening odds, are striving to throw light into darkness and give to those long oppressed and without hope the priceless treasure of self-government.



## PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AS A FACTOR IN THE PRESENT CONDITION OF TURKEY

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The Turkish empire has changed its dress, but not its nature. A body diseased for a millenium cannot recover in two or three years. As Dr. Zwemer forcibly puts it, "Nothing has ended in Turkey, but something has begun." The body politic has been cleansed, and the drastic removal of the old sultan has put the country in a state where growth is possible. Constitutional government has infused new hope in despairing hearts and gives promise that if rightly nurtured it will lead to steady progress. Nevertheless the old disease is still present, ready to break out if any untoward crisis weakens the new régime.

Gathered here, as we are, to discuss the present conditions of the Near East, every participant in this conference is animated, I believe, by the sincere desire to assist in the solution of the great problems which confront the new Turkey. Nothing can aid her more than a true understanding of the causes of her weakness. Each of us has his own diagnosis, and his own remedy, whose nature depends on whether we are missionaries, diplomats, historians, educators, business men, or scientists. Doubtless each is partly wrong, but probably all of us together are nearly right. To-day I present the diagnosis of a geographer, one whose profession is the study of the relation between physical surroundings and human life. If I were to choose a text it would be from Eliot's "Turkey in Europe," that best of books on the Turks: "The crimes with which the Turks are frequently reproached, such as treachery, fratricide and wholesale cruelty, are characteristic not of them, but of the lands which they invaded." I would carry this further

and say that to an extent hitherto unrealized, the character of the Turks and other races of the empire is dependent upon past and present physical environment. I do not ignore the influence of religion, or of other psychic forces, but I believe that these cannot be rightly understood until we appreciate the part played by geographic surroundings in molding human character.

No one can travel in Turkey without seeing scores of examples of the influence of natural environment upon the inhabitants. Take, for example, the facts which came to my notice in the summer of 1909 during an hour's talk with Herr Winter, the engineer in charge of the extensive works which will soon bring water from Lake Bey Shehir to the dry plain of Konia, the ancient Axylon, in the center of Asia Minor. As we talked, four of Herr Winter's assistants one by one came into the room and were introduced. "You see what we are like," he said. "This engineer is a Greek, that one a Bulgarian, this a Belgian, and the other an Italian; another is an Armenian, and others are of still different races. The irrigation company is German; but I am the only German here, and I'm an Austrian. Our laborers are just as mixed,—Turks, Armenians, some Kurds, a few Greeks, and I don't know what else. Of course we don't understand each other. We don't try to."

Having forcibly illustrated one of the predominant results of the peculiar geographic nature of Turkey—its racial diversity,—Herr Winter proceeded to give an example of the effect of the unique conditions of Lake Bey Shehir upon the activity and thus upon the character of the inhabitants of the region. From the lake, thirty miles long, a large, clear river flows southeastward to a smaller lake, Kara Viren. At most times this second sheet has no outlet, for the water finds exit underground through several "katavothrae," or deep holes in the underlying limestone. Occasionally the holes become clogged, or the supply of water is too great to escape through them, and a stream flows out from the lake, northeastward to the Konia plain. For a thousand years or more the Turks and their predecessors have vainly striven to prevent the loss of water

through the sink-holes and turn the entire supply to the thirsty plain. They have built walls in front of the holes; have dumped load after load of earth and rock into the yawning chasms; have manufactured crude covers of beams, felt and earth; have deepened the channel at the outlet of the lake; and have wasted much energy in digging a practically horizontal canal for a dozen miles around the lake from inlet to outlet. Each attempt has failed, not from lack of initiative or energy, but because natural difficulties have been insuperable for people in Turkey's stage of development. Only the most exact modern methods of elaborate surveying afford the Germans any hope of tapping the river above the smaller lake and carrying it around to the outlet valley. To suppose that the failure to utilize the water of a single lake would have an appreciable effect upon the character of the people of Turkey would be absurd. Consider, however, the deadening effect of a thousand such failures each year for hundreds of years.

Possibly these failures have much to do with the stupidity of men like the Turk of whom Herr Winter told us. One of the engineers was talking with a peasant whose land will ultimately be irrigated. "This is a wonderful thing for you," remarked the engineer. "When we turn the water into the canals, you will get a crop of grain five times as large as now." The peasant seemed impressed. He squatted on his toes, scratched his head, rolled another cigarette and thought the matter over. Suddenly an idea, a surprising idea, struck him. He stood up, almost hastily, tightened his girdle, and remarked "Allah be praised. Do you know what I'll do? I'll sell all but one-fifth of my land, and work only one-fifth as much as now."

The Turkish pasha who dug a horizontal canal and the peasant who longed for ease arouse our mirth; yet if our ancestors had lived under similar physical conditions, we might have been equally stupid. Before discussing this subject further, let us glance at a few other characteristics inimical to progress in Turkey. Already we have mentioned three, diversity of race and language, inability to cope with the difficulties arising from the nature of the country, and a

high degree of inertia, laziness, or whatever was the quality of the peasant who proposed to sell four-fifths of his land. To quote Eliot once more, "Perhaps one fact which lies at the root of all the actions of the Turks, small and great, is that they are by nature nomads. If they quoted from the Bible instead of the Koran, no words would better characterize their manner of life than 'Here have we no continuing city.' Both in the town and in the country they think it rather strange to remain long in the same abode. Perhaps it is to this spirit that most of the vices of the Turks should be attributed. Traveling generates an immoral habit of mind; that is to say, you do many things in a place where you are going to stop only a few hours which you would not do in your permanent residence. Observe the undisguised selfishness and greed of ordinary railway travelers, the brutal violence with which they seize eligible seats or other comforts, the savage gluttony with which they ravage the buffet. So the Turk pays no attention to the inhabitants of the territory he occupies; he makes himself comfortable in his own way in whatever shelter he finds, knocks a hole in the finest fresco if he wants to run a stovepipe through the wall, or pulls down a Greek temple if he wants stones. He builds nothing but what is immediately necessary, and repairs nothing at all. Why should he? He will pass on somewhere else and take another house." No one who has traveled in the interior of Asia Minor is likely to dispute Eliot's statements. On many a summer's day I have ridden from night till morning and found the villages deserted except for a watchman or two. The inhabitants were up among the mountains or out in the plain with their sheep; or perchance were scattered in various small valleys caring for gardens which were isolated because no one spot offers sufficient water for more than a single family. Everywhere in the more remote regions the traveler in the summer meets lines of camels and donkeys laden with household stuff, the scanty goods of a score of families.

The Turk is not the only nomad of the empire. The Arabs, Kurds, Yoruks, and others are for the most part nomadic; and, where they dare, even the Armenians often

move back and forth from one abode to another. Nomadism is characteristic of the land as well as of the Turkish race.

We are often told that it is a principle of Turkish policy to keep the borders of the empire in a state of devastation, because such frontiers render it difficult for an enemy to penetrate into the country. Whether this is a fact or not, the borders certainly are in a continual state of unrest. Those who have not visited the remoter districts scarcely realize the frequency of raids, or how prominent and familiar an event they are to the native mind. In the spring of 1909 I slept one night in an Arab tent east of the Jordan. Suddenly guns sounded, dogs barked, men shouted and women shrieked. I had been within sight of raids before, but nevertheless I was excited enough to dress hastily and hurry out toward the place where a robber band, while driving off a herd of camels, had shot at the watchmen. Two old Arabs, however, guests like myself in the tent of the sheikh, merely raised their heads from the saddles which served as pillows, saw that a raid had taken place, and went to sleep again. Why should they trouble themselves about a little matter like a raid?

Among the other qualities which have always menaced Turkey and which to-day threaten all progress, misgovernment and poverty hold an important place. There is no need to picture them. The new régime has ameliorated misgovernment, temporarily at least, and the introduction of railroads and foreign enterprises will doubtless relieve poverty. Yet the process must be slow, for aside from mines and irrigable tracts such as the plain of Mesopotamia, Turkey is poor, and its agricultural resources are already almost completely utilized. Away from the main centers, the Turks and all the native races, with the exception of the Greeks on the coast and the Armenians who have been affected by missions and other foreign influences, are deeply ignorant. Worse than this, a certain hopelessness prevails, born of ages of disappointment. Moslems and Christians feel it alike. The introduction of constitutional government dispelled it for a moment, but despair once more is beginning to hang darkly over the land as

a whole. A year ago, while traveling in central Asia Minor, the most Turkish portion of the empire, I made it a practise in every village to inquire as to the new régime. "What about this new liberty?" I asked. "What difference does it make in your village? What does it mean, anyhow?" Time and again the answer was the same: "This liberty? What do we know about it? They tell us that we have it, and that everything will be all right now. Perhaps it will. God knows. But we see no difference. Oh, yes, the officials do not take so many bribes as formerly, but that won't last. They are afraid now, but you wait. They want money just as much as ever. They take as many taxes as before, and soon they will take as many bribes. They seem to want more soldiers than ever, and they take our sons to die in Yemen. We don't mind being soldiers, but Yemen! Men die like flies there. Did we vote for a man to go to Constantinople? We don't know what you mean. Oh, now we understand. Yes, a man went from the city, but we know nothing about him. Why do you ask us all these things? How can we tell about liberty? We don't know what it means. You are from the city, you have read books. *You* ought to explain to *us* what it all means. What do we know except that we are poor and God is great? Allah grant that we get enough to pay the taxes and live this dry year."

Thus far I have mentioned eight or ten characteristics of the Turkish empire, but without arranging them logically. I have purposely set them down in the accidental order naturally used by one who has no definite idea as to their origin. Now I propose to restate them in a sequence which seems logical to the geographer. Eliot appears right in putting nomadism first among the causes of the present status of Turkey. It logically leads to a second and third evil, namely, the perpetual devastation and unrest of the borderlands and some other districts, and the extreme diversity of races. Religious differences accentuate the diversity, but are not its original cause. Fourth among the characteristics of the land comes inability to cope with natural difficulties, a trait of the majority of Ottomans of whatever

race. They see the advantage of new methods, but rarely invent them. Having reached a certain degree of proficiency in utilizing the wealth of nature, they wait for foreigners to teach them how to go farther. From this proceed other evils, especially inertia, hopelessness, ignorance poverty, and misgovernment. It will be noticed that I put at the end of the list misgovernment with its attendant evils of cruelty, oppression, and treachery. I know that religious beliefs or racial traits may lead to all manner of baneful results, and that cruelty and treachery are characteristic of certain stages in the development of all races. Nevertheless the persistence of these qualities and the peculiar manner of their combination can be explained most satisfactorily as the product of physical environment.

Let us now turn to the geographic interpretation of Turkey, beginning with nomadism. Is the Turk by nature a nomad? I answer, No. Nature, herself, to be sure, has made him a nomad, but she can unmake him, for the race is still plastic. Central Asia, where his ancestors lived for thousands of years, is full of nomads now, and has contained still more in the past. Undoubtedly they scorn the sedentary life. Many of them would not settle in agricultural communities if they could, but these are the well-to-do. In every nomadic community the individuals whose flocks are small are not merely willing, but eager to practise agriculture or to engage in any other pursuit which will yield a living. They fail to become farmers, simply because the area available for agriculture is extremely limited. The settled population occupies practically every available square mile. If a few years of unusually heavy rainfall increase the arable area, the villagers promptly take advantage of it, and enlarge their fields. Time and again the cultivated area has expanded, only to contract once more with the advent of a few dry years. If the nomad would become an agriculturist, he must fight for the privilege. Outside the arable tracts, however, vast areas are clothed with grass for part of the year. In most cases such areas are deserts or steppes too dry to support crops, in others they are high plateaus covered with splendid grass in sum-

mer, but having a warm season too short for food-producing crops. In either case the regions are habitable for people who adopt the nomadic life, but not for anyone else. Hence unnumbered tribes have become nomads, not from choice, but because they could live in no other way in the districts where their lot happened to be cast. The nomadic life is precarious in the highest degree, because a shortage of grass is fatal to the flocks and herds. Hence in times of stress the nomads move in search of better pastures. Their manner of life makes it easy to travel hundreds of miles. Once started, they may keep on indefinitely, or until they find an abiding place. On the way, they come in contact with other tribes, either nomads or settled folk. War is the inevitable result. Starting from Central Asia, where desert conditions had imposed upon their ancestors the nomadic habit, the Turks, in wave after wave, moved forward until finally they found rest in Asia Minor, and pressed over into European Turkey. Naturally the habits of thousands of years stay with a race. In the struggle of generations in Central Asia the individuals of a sturdy, warlike type succeeded best, and passed on their characteristics to a progeny more numerous than that of the weaker individuals who had not the hardihood to save their flocks from danger, or to find new pastures by fighting with neighbors. In those old days laziness was no disadvantage, provided a man could arouse himself to a frenzy of activity at the critical moment. Thus the Turk became what he is, a fighter, but not a man of energy in ordinary times. The deserts of Central Asia gave him his character, and the inheritance of ages still persists.

Having seen the effect of his original physical environment in molding the Turk, we are led to ask how far the new environment of Turkey has changed him. Is he permanently endowed with the nomadic traits? I believe not. Few inhabitants of the empire make better peasants than he. Witness once more what Eliot says: "All occupations except agriculture and military service are distasteful to the true Osmanli. He does not rejoice in reclaiming barren land, or in turning the mountain-side into fruitful vineyards. But



he has a keen appreciation of the simplest and most material joys of country life. He likes fine horses, fat sheep and cattle, good corn and olives, rich grass. But more than all, he likes a good kitchen-garden, where he can grow fruit and vegetables, succulent pumpkins and cucumbers, and perhaps regale a party of friends with roast lamb in a little summer house under the shade of his mulberry and walnut trees." Eliot here describes a combination of the characteristics of the nomad and the agriculturist in just the proportions which the nature of the country would lead us to expect. In a word, since coming to Turkey, the Turkish race has sloughed off part of the habits of nomadism and assumed part of those of the true agriculturist. Nevertheless he still retains many nomadic habits, partly by inheritance and partly because portions of Asia Minor are as desert as the steppes farther east.

In many districts of Asia Minor nomadism is still a necessity. Take for example the plain of Axylon. On the edges streams from the mountains furnish water for irrigation, while the tendency of the air to rise among the hills causes a fair amount of rainfall, though in most places not enough to support forests. Hence villages are fairly numerous along the line followed by the Bagdad railway at the foot of the mountains. Out in the plain, however, the rainfall is insufficient to support an agricultural population. Grain is raised, but the harvest is precarious. In 1909 I inquired time after time, and found that the crop amounted to only from one to fourfold the seed sown. A man who obtained four or five-fold thought himself most fortunate. Occasionally a series of two or three years may be worse than 1909, as in the late sixties and early seventies. Good crops are raised in years of propitious rainfall, but the inhabitants cannot rely on this. Hence semi-nomadism is a necessity. If the people of the great Axylon plain relied solely upon agriculture, they would soon starve, or be forced to move away. Accordingly, they are pastoral; their chief reliance is great flocks of sheep and other animals. In winter the whole population gathers in large villages at the foot of the mountains, or near large springs, and the animals are sup-

ported on the grass near at hand, eked out by hay or straw stored on the tops of the flat adobe houses. During more than half the year, however, the villagers move out into the plain in little groups of from three to a dozen families. There they cultivate a part of the land on the chance of getting good crops of grain, but the main occupation is the care of the flocks and herds. Evidently nomadism is a necessity. Among the mountains the same is true; for throughout large portions of the elevated parts of Turkey grass grows well, but the climate is too dry or too cold to permit dependence upon agriculture. Hence the nomadic habit, with all that it involves of character or of modes of thought and action, has not been wholly eradicated by the migration of the Turks to their present home. Some of the invaders have become the best of agriculturists, but even in them the old mode of life is still a potent influence. Others, such as the Turkomans of late arrival, must perforce be nomads still, for nature will not permit otherwise.

Our conclusions as to nomadism explain the unrest and devastation of the Turkish borders. On the south the Arabs live in a desert which enforces the strictest nomadism. On the east, in the high Armenian plateau near the Persian border, much of the country is so cold and dry that the Kurds are necessarily nomadic, in summer at least. Even where the degree of nomadism is slight, unrest prevails, because of the sterility of the mountains. Take the case of Dersim, between the two main branches of the upper Euphrates, a mountainous tract, highly rugged, and with some peaks rising to an elevation of 10,000 feet. Dersim is far from fertile. The Kurdish inhabitants raise grain, but depend in large measure on flocks. In 1907-8 the crops were bad, and the sheep did not do so well as usual because the grass was scanty. The Kurds needed supplies from without. In the old days they would merely have robbed the neighboring villages. I myself have been in a village on the borders of Dersim when the Kurds drove off the flocks, killed a shepherd, and had a fight with the villagers. In 1908, however, having felt the strong arm of the government, they purchased grain, and made up a great caravan

to bring it home. The officials naturally said, "Now is our chance. We can strike a blow at the Kurds without injury to ourselves." The caravan was seized. As a result, the Kurds flared up, and began to rob and plunder on all sides. The authorities sent a large body of troops, 20,000 it is said, who hung around the borders of the mountains, but dared not penetrate the fastnesses. Half a million dollars, 108,000 Turkish liras, were spent by the government; but nothing was attained. The Kurds were embittered and made more ready to plunder any and all their neighbors; misgovernment was rampant for a while. The whole affair was due primarily to the mountainous, unproductive character of Dersim, which makes the Kurds semi-nomadic, exposes them to the constant danger of want, and gives them a fastness to which they can retire and defy the government. Of course the officials were foolish, but ignorance was their chief fault. They had not realized that at the bottom of the trouble lay the hunger of centuries. Half a million dollars spent in furnishing labor on public works would have enabled those particular Kurds to buy five times the food they needed and would have kept them perfectly quiet. The fundamental mistake is in assuming that the Kurds are by nature robbers, a dangerous element to be sternly repressed. The remedy lies in so adjusting matters that the evils of their physical environment shall be met.

The Albanians, and, still more, the Arabs, are in like manner the victims of circumstances. I could harrow your souls by telling how the people of the borders of the Arabian desert starved in the early seventies, while the Arabs plundered them unmercifully. In those days, by universal testimony, the Arabs pressed in from the desert by the thousand. They were hungry; their sheep and camels were weak; milk failed for the young animals; and food for the people. Therefore they scourged the starving villagers, stripping men and women of every rag, and leaving them weak and wounded to find the way home for miles in the blazing desert sun. We grow eloquent over the infernal wickedness of the Arabs, and the criminal weakness of the Turkish government in permitting such devastation within its dominions. Our eloquence is wasted.

What right have we to blame them? If we would do anything, we must show the Arab how to find food where there is no food, and the Turk how to know that the Arabs are about to be hungry and violent. If the Turkish government can find a way of helping the Arabs in times of drought, it can preserve its borders from wild desolation. It can never prevent raids so long as the raiders are spurred by hunger, and have the desert as an inviolable refuge.

The diversity of races in the Turkish empire scarcely needs explanation. Located at the apex of a vast continent, Armenia and Asia Minor, throughout the ages, have received the outwash of tribes from the desert. Forced onward by the hordes behind them, one tribe or race after another has been driven to the verge of extinction. Some have crossed to Europe; more have found refuge in the nooks and corners of the uplands. Where the mountains are highest, there the mixture of races is greatest. In the Armenian and Kurdish mountains the Turk, Armenian, Kurd, Nestorian, Kuzzilbash, Yezidi, Lar, and many another race finds shelter. The same is true of the Balkans, the Caucasus, and the region around the Pamirs. Wherever a great knot of mountains lies in the midst of regions whose physical circumstances lead to nomadism or even poverty, the remnants of defeated races gather in diverse little communities. Separated at first by race, religion and language, they are prevented from later amalgamation by the mountains themselves. Nature combines with human impulses to create diversity in rugged regions, whereas in plains she produces uniformity.

Thus far, I think, most of my hearers will agree with me. I now come to the more difficult question of the ability of the Turkish race. The Turks as a race are undoubtedly deficient in originality and enterprise. In the recent crisis they have won universal admiration; yet their own leaders are sorely troubled for fear that the good work will slacken and cease, and that the former apathy and misrule will recur, not in the old form, but with much of the old substance. If incompetence, inertia, laziness, hopelessness are necessary qualities of the Turkish race and of certain

other oriental races, the case is indeed sad. Let us investigate a few specific examples. Everyone familiar with Constantinople wonders at the desolate character of the surrounding country. On the Asiatic side the case is not so bad, for villages are fairly numerous in spite of the relatively high mountains. On the European side, however, the beautiful plateau stretching northward to the Black sea and westward for a hundred miles to Adrianople, is well-nigh uninhabited. It lies only a few hundred feet high, the soil is deep, the slopes gentle, and everything appears propitious for agriculture. Yet one may walk for miles and see nothing but flocks of sheep and at long intervals a little village in a secluded valley. To test the common opinion I made inquiries of three friends who have lived in Constantinople. All are far better informed than the average traveler, and one is among the chief authorities on the country. My inquiries took the form of a question as to why the region is so sparsely populated. The first reply was: "Lack of energy on the part of the Turks is the reason why there are no people on the plateau. They might have fine gardens there; they have them in some places around the city,—splendid ones,—and if the Turks were an energetic people they would turn the whole region into fine farms." The second reply emphasized another point: "It is because the Turks don't know how to do things wisely. They keep sheep up there on the plateau. You can see them any day close to the city, eating away, and cleaning the ground off smooth as a floor. The Turks ought to give that up, and take to farming." The third answer carried the matter still farther: "The trouble is that it is not safe outside the city. It is dangerous to go out alone there on the hills; all over the plateau the shepherds are unfriendly. Soldiers from the city go out there and insult or rob respectable citizens. So people do not like to live there. The government is to blame."

These three answers represent the common opinion not only of the people of Turkey, but of the most thoughtful foreigners. I accept all the answers as true, but they are only partial truths. They fail to strike at the root of the

matter, as my three friends agreed after we had talked the matter over, and they had themselves stated the facts on which I base my conclusion. Lack of energy, lack of knowledge, and lack of safety all seem to be in large measure the result of physical conditions. The plateau west of the Bosphorus does not blossom with gardens because it is too dry. In the spring it is beautifully green, and in exceptional years it remains verdant well toward autumn. Usually, however, it dries up at the beginning of summer. The moisture does not last long enough to insure the growth of any but the earliest crops; even grain and barley often fail. The gardens to which two of my friends referred are all irrigated, or if not irrigated are located in valleys which enjoy what may be called natural irrigation. Under present conditions water cannot possibly be brought to the main portion of the plateau, which is therefore left to semi-nomadic shepherds. Being sparsely inhabited it becomes the haunt of miscreants from the great city. Hence the lack of safety. If agriculture were profitable thousands of poor people would gladly take up farms; villages would spring up; and in a few years comparative safety would prevail. That the absence of cultivation is not due to lack of energy is proved by the fact that in the fall of 1909, when the deposition of Abdul Hamid had assured safety in the minds of many, a considerable area of the plateau not far from the city was planted with grain. The results are said to have been disappointing. The grain sprouted and grew, but not vigorously. The crop was by no means such as to tempt further expansion of agriculture. Yet 1909-10 was not one of the worst years, although not one of the best. The rainfall of Constantinople varies from 11 to 44 inches. Being influenced by winds from both the north and the south, it is very irregular. Sometimes it continues all summer, but not often. Usually the effective rains end about the first of June and begin again in September. Occasionally rain ceases, save for a few ineffective showers, as early as April, and does not begin until October. In such years agriculture without irrigation is out of the question. Dr. Washburn tells me that he has known the water supply of

Robert College to fail completely because of the withholding of rain until the end of October. The little villages on the plateau, *chiftliks*, as they are called, depend upon water from wells; and in bad years the wells sometimes go dry. Dr. Washburn has known of years when the inhabitants of certain villages were forced to carry water long distances for their own use, while their cattle suffered greatly from thirst. When two or three years with a rainfall of fifteen inches or less occur in succession much distress ensues. Famine does not occur because the people of the plateau rely largely on their flocks and because they can get work in the great city. Clearly, however, the reason for the sparse population and lack of safety of the regions immediately around Constantinople is primarily the irregularity of the rainfall, which makes agriculture highly precarious.

As to the effect of this on the lack of energy and lack of knowledge so prevalent in Turkey, a little further explanation is necessary. As I drove one day over the plain of Axylon, northeast of Konia, the parched land changed in appearance, and began to be clothed with short, thick green grass. After a few miles we were in the midst of a verdant plain stretching indefinitely on every side. Yet not a trace of a village or field could we see, nothing but the tents or little mud huts of nomads. Hitherto my Greek driver had not been sparing of opprobrious epithets, but now he broke out with renewed exclamations at the laziness, ignorance, and incompetence of the poor swine who inhabited the plain. "Look at this fine plain," he exclaimed. "See how green it is. Look at that brook. If only some Greeks were here, or even some Muhajir Turks, they would make a perfect garden of this. But these vile Turks. What do they know? They are animals without a speck of sense in their heads." His remarks threw light on two points. In the first place he had no theory as to the incompetence of the Turks as a race on matters of agriculture. Muhajir Turks are those who have lately come from Roumania or other European regions, driven away by the change from Turkish to Christian government since 1876. Racially, they are as pure as almost any Turks, yet they are rightly deemed among

the best farmers in the empire. The reason is not that their ancestors were less nomadic than those of other Turks, but that they happened to settle in the relatively fertile regions of eastern Europe, where nature invited them to live a purely agricultural life, with almost nothing of the old nomadism. Hence they have changed in character.

The second point in the Greek's remark is that his mental attitude exemplifies that of almost the whole world. He failed to realize that men in the stage of development of the Turks would never leave so easily tilled a plain uncultivated unless some important physical characteristic prevented its utilization. The reason soon appeared. We spent the night with a Kurdish chief, for part of the people were Kurds and part Turks. He proudly showed me his garden. "It is hard work," he said, "to make a garden here. You see what a good little brook we have. I think we ought to have some good gardens. A few years ago I tried to make one over there. It was all right the first year, but the second season the ground became hard, and we could not make things grow. Now I am trying here, where the soil is more sandy. This is the third year. Some plants do pretty well, but I don't know why so many trees die." He took me about, pointing out the melons, carrots, cabbages and other vegetables, as well as various fruit trees. Some species seemed thriving, but many were stunted, and about half the trees had died after the first year. Later I visited another garden in the same neighborhood. It was only two years old, but had suffered more than its neighbor four or five miles away. The reason was plain. We were in the bed of an ancient salt lake. The soil was strongly impregnated with salt, and the water of the brooks was somewhat saline. Irrigation concentrated the salt, as it always does, and after a few years rendered the ground unfit for plants of any kind except coarse grasses. The attempts of the two Kurds do not seem to be the first of their kind. We saw traces of former gardens; marked in several places by willow trees which survive where a running stream keeps the soil washed comparatively free from salt. In no case, however, has cultivation proved successful.



The moral of the Kurdish gardens is evident; but before speaking of it, I wish to cite an incident at Beersheba, the most southerly inhabited town of Palestine on the edge of the desert. A young official there told me that he and two partners had attempted to raise grain wholesale. Seeing many square miles of good land lying unused, they leased from the government a large tract at a rental of about \$2000 a year. In 1908 they planted several acres and reaped an excellent crop. The next year they increased the area, hiring many laborers, and investing all that they could in the venture. The spring of 1909 was unpropitious, for no rain fell from February till the end of April. When I visited Beersheba at the close of April the fields, which ought to have been at their best, looked almost as if they had never been planted. No attempt was made to reap the crop. Each man lost \$1500 or more that year, which is as much for the East as eight or ten thousand would be for us.

The untilled lands of Constantinople, the stunted Kurdish gardens, and the withered crop of Beersheba are not isolated instances. They represent the constant experience of the Turkish empire. On all sides men are trying to improve their condition, but fail because of natural obstacles over which they have no control, or which they do not comprehend. In these days the number of attempts is small compared with what we should make if suddenly transferred thither, but it is surprisingly large in view of the failures of the past. No man can be blamed if nature refuses to coöperate with him. With us nature may not always be so pliable as we might wish, but she rarely fails us utterly. Exertion on our part almost always brings reward. Thus we are encouraged to new efforts, and are fast learning to master highly unpropitious circumstances. With the people of Turkey the case has been different. For a thousand years they have found themselves face to face with difficulties too great for the capacity of any race save those who, under more favorable circumstances, have reached a high state of knowledge. No wonder the Turk has grown inert and hopeless. Each failure such as that of the man at Beersheba

or of the Kurds of the Axylon has been known to hundreds of the surrounding people, and has deterred them from similar attempts. "What is the use?" has been the constant question. "If we try we shall only fail." Hence fatalism has found ready acceptance and has become part of the mental equipment of every Turk. Not merely have failures been frequent, but there have been few successes such as those which are so stimulating in America. Hence poverty prevails and adds its benumbing influence.

The government of an inert, unenergetic, hopeless, poverty-stricken land can scarcely be expected to be good. Human greed is not lessened by misfortune. Nor are governmental demands for taxes diminished in times of hunger; on the contrary they increase, for rebellion, invasion, and sedition are rife at such periods. When the peasants have little or nothing with which to pay taxes, the officials also are in danger of poverty; no wonder they practice extortion and cruelty. I am not apologizing for these weaknesses, nor palliating them. I am simply striving to show their cause, or at least to show how one great cause has failed to receive its proper valuation. Physical environment is certainly responsible for some of the mental and moral qualities which hinder the advance of Turkey.

I know that many of my hearers will object to this conclusion. "What of religion?" they will ask. "Is not Mohammedanism much more potent than physical environment as a cause of evil? Are not the Greeks and Armenians ahead of the Turks, because of the difference in religion?" To answer the last question first, if the Christian races are ahead of the Turks, I believe it is due in good measure to Christianity, but other things may have a share in it. In the first place the older races, the Greeks, Armenians, and so forth, did not bring with them the Turkish heritage of nomadism, or if they did, they are removed from it by thousands instead of hundreds of years. In the next place the Christians have been comparatively open to outside influences, for their community of belief with Europe has made them willing to accept ideas which the Moslems resist. On the whole, however, the innate character of the Turks may not be greatly inferior to that of the Christians; for

the Turks are by no means to be despised. Not for a moment do I question that a new faith may work wonders in an individual, but when the stimulus of the bringers of the new belief is removed, the religious condition of a community soon falls to a level commensurate with the moral fiber of the people as a whole. Witness the Abyssinian Christians, or those of parts of South America. The higher a race rises, the higher the type of religion which it is able to grasp, and the more it is stimulated by great ideas, and by the power of faith. While a race is plunged in hopelessness by adverse physical conditions, it can scarcely attain high ideals. When other conditions improve, then the race is able to assimilate higher ideas and to be elevated by them. The physical and the psychic are so intertwined that each stimulates the other, but neither can make great progress while the other is retarded.

I should be loath to have it appear that in emphasizing the influence of physical environment I minimize other influences. I simply desire that all shall receive their proper consideration. In the past the word missionary meant merely a man who went out to teach the dogmas of Christianity. At the beginning of modern missions the one thought was to preach, and to cause the people of non-Christian lands to give up their old faiths and accept Christianity. To-day the most enlightened missionaries realize that medical and educational work are as important as direct religious efforts, and some go so far as to count them even more important. Many a man who went to foreign lands to preach has spent most of his life in teaching modern methods of farming, business, or mechanics. In a word the most useful missionaries have been those who have not only preached the faith that is in them, but have combined with this an intelligent endeavor to help the backward races in their attempts to master the difficulties of nature. They have done their work empirically, that is, without a full scientific knowledge of the relation of physical environment to character, but with full faith that true progress somehow combines material, mental, and spiritual elements. The need of the world to-day is not less missionary work, but more and broader. We have spiritual, medical and

educational missionaries: we need scientific, technical, agricultural, and commercial missionaries who shall work in their lines as unselfishly and patiently as the others have worked in theirs. Above all things the world needs men of ideals who shall inspire the faint-hearted to effort, whether by a new spiritual faith, or by a successful irrigation project.

Some of my hearers, while agreeing that the views here presented give due weight to spiritual and psychic factors may think that historical facts confute the conclusions that we have reached. In the past, they say, the Turkish empire nourished a civilization far in advance of that of today,—as advanced as any of its time. If such could be the case in the past, why not to-day? The answer must be stated briefly. In a volume on "Palestine and its Transformation" I have answered it at length. Here I can merely say that long study of the problem leads me to believe that physical conditions to-day are not what they were in the past. The climate of western Asia has changed, and the change has taken place in a most irregular fashion,—sometimes rapidly, at others slowly, sometimes tending toward aridity and sometimes toward greater rainfall. On the whole, however, the tendency has been pronouncedly toward aridity, not on account of deforestation or human action, but through a cosmic transformation. Once the plateau around Constantinople was dotted with agricultural villages, whose ruins still remain to prove the change. In Syria great baths fed by streams of running water formerly existed in places which now are wholly waterless. The Greek, the Armenian and the other ancient races of Turkey attained their high civilization during the period of propitious physical environment; the unpropitious later period has seen the feeble Byzantine and Turkish empires. The agreement between the times of pronounced decadence and the times of widespread aridity is one of the strongest arguments in favor of the conclusion that the character of a race is in many respects the reflection of its physical environment. The environment may not work directly. Cases like one related to me by Dr. Washburn are common. Between Alexandretta and Aleppo lies the town of Azizieh, in the plain at the foot of Giaur Dag. Some years ago

the Turkish government found the mountaineers of Giaur Dagħ so unruly and such plunderers, that it brought them down and settled them in the abandoned ruins of Azizieh. The country appeared rich and well watered, but no one was living there. The reason speedily became apparent. The mountaineers died wholesale, cut down by fever, and soon the population was diminished by half. Many other places which once were habitable are now scourged with disease. The change of climate appears to have involved a great increase in malarial fevers, whose wide prevalence and insidious weakening effects, so physicians say, make them the most dangerous of all diseases. In this way, as well as in many others the past was more favorable than the present.

The problem of the Turkish empire is in a broad sense biological. Man, like every other animal, must adapt himself to his environment. Mental traits are quite as important as physical in the process of adaptation. The Turk has migrated from the environment of deserts; the Greeks and Armenian have descended from an environment of greater rainfall and fertility. To-day all these races are still in process of adjustment. Certain characteristics have been inherited, others are being acquired; and little by little a type is being selected adapted to the present conditions. The process of adjustment has brought out many undesirable qualities. The problem to-day is to eliminate them. The chief causes of the bad traits, so far as geographic conditions are concerned, are the lack or irregularity of rainfall, the juxtaposition of infertile regions inhabited by nomads and of fertile agricultural regions inhabited by more peaceful people, the terminal position and mountainous character of the land, which has fostered diversity of races and interests, and the change which has taken place in the water supply during the Christian era.

At first thought this array of unpropitious circumstances seems hopeless, especially if it be granted that character is largely a product of environment, and that religion itself can be degraded by adverse circumstances. Yet such is by no means the case. When the world discovered the nature of bacteria, mankind seemed at first to be utterly at their mercy. What hope had a man of escaping disease

if he breathed, ate, and drank bacteria, if he touched millions each day, and was never away from their influence? Yet now all men recognize that the road to immunity from a disease lies in a knowledge of the bacteria which occasion it. Formerly we kept the consumptive shut in a warm close house, and unconsciously fostered tubercular bacilli by every means in our power. Now we know their nature, and are able to kill them with fresh air and low temperature. Even so the people of Turkey are suffering from a disease whose exact cause is unknown. All sorts of remedies are advocated, religious, social, political, commercial. These may or may not be helpful; some may be exactly the right treatment; others may aggravate the trouble. So long as we are only partially aware of the nature of the malady, even the best remedies may be misapplied, or may fail to accomplish their full results. Physical environment seems to be a cause underlying all the others,—by no means more important than they, any more than the root is more important than the fruit, but lying below them and nourishing them even as the root nourishes the whole plant. The patient suffering from typhoid fever to-day cares little to know the nature of the typhoid bacillus; for him the prime object is to allay the fever. For the people of the future, and for those not now afflicted, the nature and actions of the typhoid bacilli are most essential problems. Doubtless the troubles of Turkey are due to spiritual and psychic bacilli as well as to physical environment. The one essential is to study all phases of the question impartially and determine the true nature of each type of malady. To tell a nation that it suffers because of the land which it inhabits may seem depressing. Yet this is far more hopeful than to say that the race is bad at the core. If outside forces are one of the main causes of the present low status of Turkey there is hope for the future. We cannot here discuss the remedies which will do away with the ill effects of physical conditions; we do not know them yet, but we are well assured that they exist. First we must discover the nature of the evils, then the cure. Even as Christ encouraged the world, so would we encourage Turkey,—“Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.”

## THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO TO HUMAN CIVILIZATION

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That the black man should have contributed in the slightest to the common fund of our human civilization is a thought quite foreign to the minds of some Americans afflicted with acute Anglosaxonism and Negrophobia. No amount of evidence would *e.g.*, convince Mr. Thomas Dixon, Mr. Thomas Watson, or Professor W. B. Smith, that the Negro has done anything decidedly and recognizably human during the long millenniums of his existence as a race. That the world must be "white," by hook or by crook, is their motto, and they seek to persuade themselves that it has always been so. Surely no one, except him in whose veins still runs somewhat riotously the blood of the old taskmaster of the slave, or one whose myopic view of the facts of science permits him to set up a mere social prejudice, and that, too, of very recent origin, against world-truths, which it is entirely beyond the power of any race or people, not to say a section of one, to alter or to destroy, can speak or write in such terms. Only individuals immune to the teachings of evolution could imagine that a race, millenniums old, and numbering to-day after centuries of more or less brutal contact with the whites, more than 150,000,000, could have existed or could continue to exist, without in the slightest influencing the currents of human thought and action. It is with eyes blind to the results of the most recent investigations of the origin and the development of Negro culture in Africa, and to the achievements of the race in other parts of the globe that such people content

themselves with repeating words of prejudiced origin, which have long since lost significance, and with seeing in the Negro only a beast or a half-man. There are various ways of estimating or judging the capacities of a race for progress and its contributions to our human civilization. Here we shall content ourselves with three, viz., (1) *the appearance of individual Negroes, or of individuals with admittedly Negro blood, from time to time, in the midst of cultures not of native African origin*; (2) *the debt of mankind to the Negroes in the matter of industry, inventions, art, etc., in the achievements of the Black Race as such in the various branches of human civilization*; (3) *the achievements of Negroes removed from their home-land in childhood and educated under European auspices, etc.* Under each of these three heads there is now a considerable amount of data available which can be but briefly set forth here.

## I

The contributions of the Negro to human civilization are innumerable and immemorial. Let us first get some glimpses of him, chiefly as an individual, in contact with the past of other cultures than his own. Ancient Egypt knew him, both bond and free, and his blood flowed in the veins of not a few of the mighty Pharaohs. Nefertari, the famous Queen of Aahmes, the King of Egypt, who drove the Hyksos from the land and founded the 18th Dynasty (ca. 1700 B. C.), was a Negress of great beauty, strong personality, and remarkable administrative ability. She was for years associated in the government with her son, Amen-hotep I, who succeeded his father. Queen Nefertari was highly venerated and many monuments were erected in her honor; she was venerated as "ancestress and founder of the 18th Dynasty" and styled "the wife of the god Ammon," etc. Another strain of Negro blood came into the line of the Pharaohs with Mut-em-ua, wife of Thothmes IV, whose son, Amen-hotep III, had a negroid physiognomy. Amen-hotep III was famous as a builder and his reign (ca. 1400 B. C.) is distinguished by a marked improve-



ment in Egyptian art and architecture. He it was who built the great temple of Ammon at Luxor and the colossi of Memnon. Besides these marked individual instances, there is the fact that the Egyptian race itself in general had a considerable element of Negro blood, and one of the prime reasons why no civilization of the type of that of the Nile arose in other parts of the continent, if such a thing were at all possible, was that Egypt acted as a sort of channel by which the genius of Negroland was drafted off into the service of Mediterranean and Asiatic culture. In this sense Egyptian civilization may be said, in some respects, to be of Negro origin. Among the Semitic peoples whose civilizations were so numerous and so ancient on the shores of the Mediterranean and throughout western Asia, the Negro, as in Egypt, made his influence felt, from the lowest to the highest walks of life, sometimes as a slave, sometimes as the freest of citizens. As cup-bearer, or confidential adviser, he stood next to kings and princes and as faithful eunuch he enhanced and extended the power of the other sex in lands where custom confined them to the four walls of their dwellings or restricted to the utmost their appearance and their actions in public. And women from Ethiopia, "black but comely," wives of favorite slaves of satraps and of kings, often were the real rulers of Oriental provinces and empires. Nor have the Negroes in these Asiatic countries been absent from the ranks of the musician and the poet, from the time of Solomon to that of Haroun al Raschid and beyond in the days of Emirs and Sultans. One must not forget the Queen of Sheba, with her dash of Negro blood, said, together with that of the great Solomon, to have been inherited by the sovereigns of Abyssinia. When under the brilliant dynasty of the Ommiades (661-750 A.D.), the city of Damascus was one of the glories of the world, its galaxy of five renowned poets included Nossayeb, the Negro. And we can cross the whole of Asia and find the Negro again, for, when, in far-off Japan, the ancestors of the modern Japanese were making their way northward against the Ainu, the aborigines of that country,

the leader of their armies was Sakanouye Tamuramaro, a famous general and a Negro.

Passing down European history, we find traces of the Negro in many high places. In France, during the reign of Louis XVI, we meet with the Chevalier Sainte-Georges, knighted by that monarch. Later on, the mulatto, Lislet Geoffroy, a corresponding member of the French Academy. In 1874, the doors of the Institut de France opened wide to Alexandre Dumas (fils), whose great-grandmother was a pure-bred Haitian Negress. Her grandson was also a distinguished man of letters.

Among the favorites of Peter the Great and his famous consort Catharine, was an Abyssinian Negro educated in France, to whom was attached the name of Hannivalov, who became a general and received other honors from the Russian government. He married the daughter of a Greek merchant, and his son became a general of artillery, who built the harbor and fortress of Cherson. The grandson of Hannivalov was A. S. Pushkin (1799-1837) perhaps the greatest of all Russian poets.

In Spain, where, besides, some diluted Negro blood came in with the Moors, we find a remarkable remembrancer of the black man in the field of art. In one of the churches of Seville are to be seen four beautiful pictures (Christ bound to a column, with St. Peter kneeling at his side; St. Joseph; St. Anne; Madonna and Child), the work of the mulatto, Sebastian Gomez, the slave, then the pupil, the companion and the equal of his master, the great painter Murillo, who had him made a free citizen of Spain, and at his death (1682), left him part of his estate. And, in their voyages and travels the Spaniards in the New World had the services of the Negro. The first man to reach the land of the Seven Cities of Cibola, and open the Southwest of what is now the United States of America, was the Negro Estevancillo; and the vessel of Captain Arellano (1564-1565), the first to make the return voyage across the Pacific from the East Indies to Mexico was steered by a mulatto pilot.

In our own day and generation, after one white man had egregiously tricked the world with his tale of Polar dis-

covery, we must confess to not a little satisfaction that the account of the next one of our race, who claimed to have reached the top of the earth, was corroborated by the word of the black man who saw him do it.

## II

Now let us turn more particularly to achievements of race *en masse*. In comparing the achievements of the African Negroes with those of the European and Asiatic whites, it must be remembered that the latter have had continuously the advantage of the best possible environment in the world, and the former as continuously the disadvantage of the worst. In other words, the whites have been notably bonused by nature at the start, and the number and character of historical experiences which they must inevitably have undergone, quite regardless of their intellectual or other endowments, have been entirely in their favor.

The tremendous effect of a favorable environment is seen in the history of the white race in the region of the Mediterranean. Europe, Asia and Africa have furnished there examples of culture of a high grade in which all varieties of the so-called Caucasian type seem to have participated. Indeed, any people, sufficiently numerous to have established somewhat large fixed communities, was reasonably sure of being an important member of the Mediterranean series of great cities, kingdoms, empires, etc., and of being remembered for something of value in the civilization which the world has inherited from the nations of the Mediterranean past and present. From prehistoric times to our own day and generation, one race only, the Negro, by reason, probably, of being cut off by desert or sea, during a long period of its existence, and, therefore secluded in Africa beyond the "thin line" of the white race on the north, seems never to have intruded into the Mediterranean area (or to have settled there in any locality) in sufficiently large numbers to have undergone the same historical experience, and to have submitted to the same genial influences of environment so stimulating to the other races, which, in that region,

reached so remarkable a stage of social, political, religious and intellectual evolution. Out of the coming and going of peoples in the Mediterranean area, from the necessities of intercommunication among its innumerable centers of culture, arose things, which the more or less monotonous and secluded African land-areas seemed not to suggest or to demand. Thus the appearance of the alphabet was as natural in the Mediterranean region at a comparatively early period, as it was improbable and unexpected in pre-historic Negroland. So, too, the very same phenomena permitted an earlier disappearance from white civilization of many ideas and institutions, the retention of which among the African Negroes is more a natural result of their seclusion than an index of their intelligence. Such causes and factors of the retardation of Negro culture as slavery, polygamy, the belief in witchcraft, etc., are among these. Here, again, we must be just in our denunciation of these evils. Our own escape from the institution of slavery is still too recent to make us very honest boasters (and less than ten years ago we gave it a new lease of life under our flag in the Sulu Islands). The vagaries of mental healing in twentieth century America but too often suggest something quite like the ideas of the uncivilized African. And, are we quite sure that the honest simultaneous polygamy of Nigeria is so much less moral than the dishonest successive polygamy that coruscates from Reno, Nevada?

#### POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

That some of the Negro peoples of Africa possess actual genius for social and political organization has been demonstrated again and again, particularly in the Sudan (both before and after Arab influence), and among the Bantu peoples further to the South. An opinion long held in certain quarters that these developments of Negro civilization were entirely due to the Arab and Mohammedan influences of the period beginning with about 750 A.D., and to earlier Egyptian and Semitic contacts, can no longer be sustained. That there has been at the bottom of them a basis of real

Negro culture is now apparent from the archeological and ethnological researches of German, French and English investigators in the Sahara, the Sudan and West Africa. What a few travellers at the close of the Middle Ages reported they had seen has now been confirmed by unimpeachable evidence. "Negro culture" is now no more to be denied than the existence of the Pigmies, which once rested almost solely on the statements of Herodotus. The very recent investigations and studies of Desplagnes, von Luschan, Frobenius, Weule, etc., are adding more and more to the culture phenomena, which the Negroes may be said themselves to have originated, or having borrowed from other peoples, to have skilfully adapted or improved for their own uses. Back of the stone figures of Sherbro, the megaliths of the Gambia, the bronzes of Benin, and other little known aspects of West African art and architecture, as well as behind the organized political developments in the Sudan, etc., lie things that are not easily to be explained as merely waifs from Egypt or later unintentional gifts from the white race. Here, again, the view may open wide and far. Frobenius, who believes that a Negro culture of a rather high type, once existed in West Africa, christens it "Atlantic," and is inclined to think that the Egyptian and Mediterranean legends immortalized in the "Atlantis" of Plato may have had a very real foundation in distorted accounts or forgotten memories of this African culture, which some day may have its Odyssey corroborated as Schliemann did for Troy. And West Africa is the real Negro country from which so many of the slave ancestors of the Afro-Americans were stolen away. Liberia, too, lies in this land, and her hopes of the future ought to be touched by some reflection from this great past.

Long before the Mohammedan advent, kings and empires existed in Negro Africa. It seems, too, that, subsequently, when the first rush of Arab contact was over, the pure Negro element again came into control in many cases and carried on indigenous culture, with the skilful adaptation of foreign elements, to still higher stages of development. The comparison of Negro Africa with contemporary Medieval Europe

is most interesting and convincing here. The sociological and political phenomena in both regions of the globe at that time are strikingly similar. Parallels for the feudal system, the rise and development of the judiciary, the evolution of international law, the rôle of the market and the fair, and many other things could as well be studied in the one as in the other. The rise of innumerable small states and their ultimate consolidation into large kingdoms and extensive empires are equally characteristic of both. Negro Africa, too, at this period, and since then also, has in like manner produced kings and political organizers, who have been men of genius possessing great personalities, and ranking in character and ability with the princes and sovereigns of Europe at the time. Such, e. g., were the men who ruled the great kingdoms and empires of the Sudan, some of which lasted down to the middle of the 19th century, when the European mass-contact with this part of the Dark Continent practically began. If anyone really wants to know (to use the words of Dr. F. Boas), "what the Negro has done in Africa," let him look into the history of the Negro kingdoms of Ghana and Songhai, the Empire of Lunda, Bornu, the Kingdom of Katsena, etc. Let him read of the great cities with Negro Africa, such as Engornu (in Bornu) and Timbuktu, etc., with their from 30,000 to 50,000 inhabitants; Kana in Haussa-land, etc. Barth, the German traveler, who visited this part of Negro Africa in 1851-1855, has left on record his impressions of its civilization and of the men who created and sustained it. Men like King Askia of Songhai and Bello, the Sultan of Katsena, who has been called "the Napoleon of the Sudan" deserve rank among the great figures of the world's history. They are the undeniable proof that the Negro race is thoroughly human in its ability to produce men of genius. In personal character, in administrative ability, in devotion to the welfare of his subjects, in open-mindedness towards foreign influences, and in wisdom in the adoption of non-Negro ideas and institutions, King Askia, who ruled over Songhai in the early part of the 16th century, was certainly the equal of the average European monarchs of the time and the superior of many of them.

Among the Bantu peoples of South Africa (*e.g.*, the Zulus, etc.), great capacity for survival by means of political and social organization has been shown in some cases and also considerable advance toward the ultimate creation of a Christian Negro nation at some time in the future. One of the Bantu peoples, the Ovampo, has already proceeded so far along the road to self-government, after our own ideas, that it has got rid of its old line of hereditary kings and set up a sort of republic.

#### COMMERCE, ETC.

At the period of early contact with the whites, the great skill and *finesse* of the African Negroes in matters of trade were constantly in evidence and became a thing to be described epigrammatically in proverbs, one of which ran to the effect that a Negro could beat a Jew or an Armenian. And in the chronicles of the period of European advance, we meet frequently the question, what will happen "if the blacks got full possession of our culture," seeing they can already outdo us with their own? It has been said epigrammatically on this point that "the African's weakness is not in getting wealth, but in keeping it." The institution of the market and the fair, *e.g.*, among the Negro peoples of the Sudan and the development out of it of the village, the town and the city, are one of the most interesting phenomena in all the history of human culture. Among the questions involved in the evolution of the market and the fair are: the greater share of women in public and semi-public activities; the breaking down of the narrowness of mere tribal boundaries and clan-instincts, consequent upon the gathering together of so many people at repeated intervals; the movement toward abolition of war through the institution of the market-peace and the prohibition of all hostile acts during the time of prevalence of fairs, markets, etc.; the amalgamation of peoples resulting from the ultimately permanent character of these markets and fairs, and the absorption of those conducting them more or less into the general population by the consolidation of the temporary city without the

walls with the old city within them; the influence upon the general honesty and morality of the community of the increasing importance of the right of asylum, the protection of the stranger within and without the gates, the necessity of honest weights and measures; the autonomy of the market, the market-tax with its corollary of protection or free-trade; the question of the laborer and his hire; the market-holiday and its relations to religious and other festivals and ceremonial occasions, etc. Indeed, as one looks over the long list of questions here at issue, one sees that practically no question that is at present a matter of discussion among ourselves, or has been such in the progress of our civilization, can be mentioned, which has not been involved in the commercial and the economic development of Negro Africa.

#### DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

Africa is undoubtedly the home of the wild ancestors of several species of domestic animals and likewise the continent which saw the first shaping of some of them under the hands of man. And it is quite reasonable to suppose that in certain cases the beginnings of such domestication are to be traced to the Negro peoples, whose achievements in this field were added to and given wide extension by the Egyptians, especially, and by the races of other lineage who took part in the civilizations of the Mediterranean and of Western Asia. Cattle-keeping and cattle-breeding is an art ancient and now widespread in Negro Africa. With some tribes cattle have entered into the economic and the ideal life of the people as has the horse, or the sheep, with certain Semitic and Aryan nations, and, as with them, given a distinct color and tone to language and literature. The skill attained by some of the Bantu tribes in the maintenance and the utilization of domestic cattle is remarkable. Cattle-milking, an accomplishment, which is far from being universally human, either in the individual or in the race, is old in parts of Negro land. And here, it is worth noting that a civilization as ancient and as important as that of China has not yet been added to its common factors of economic survival the dairy and its



attendant developments. And the same might be said of the younger civilization of the Japanese, as it could also have been said of more than one of the ancient civilizations of the Occident, whose range of culture did not include the employment of the milk of the cow in human economy. The milk-using Africans would have stood high in the classification of Lippert, the German culture-historian who maintained, though quite mistakenly, that the use of the milk of domestic animals was the *sine qua non* of qualification for the higher reaches of human civilization. But some of the black Africans have done more than drink milk fresh from the cow. The Hereros, *e.g.*, who well illustrate the development of individuality from a basis of pastoral culture, as Dehérain informs us, "live upon sour milk," having thus anticipated the ideas of Metchnikof, the Russian biologist and author of a theory of longevity. Perhaps, if they had first heard of its virtues from the Hereros, our patriotic American Negrophobes might have declined to have anything whatever to do with it. And maybe the Herero dietitians are justified in ascribing to their favorite food the strength and the skill exhibited by them in their revolt a few years ago against the German authorities in South-West Africa. In the field of the domestication of animals and their utilization in human economics the Negro has done enough to entitle him to both the gratitude and the admiration of mankind. Indeed, some have gone so far as to maintain with A. von Frantzius, who in 1878 discussed this topic in the *Archiv für Anthropologie*, that Africa was the original home of the cow and the Negro its domesticator. Whether this be true or not, it is certain that the black man is well qualified to have been such.

#### ART, ETC.

Far from possessing no art, the African Negroes have created some of the most beautiful art-objects to be found in any museum in the wide world. We have not yet, as Dr. Boas has pointed out, in this country a museum to illustrate fully and adequately the art of the native Africans, but in sev-

eral of the European museums, these are admirably, if not exhaustively, represented. Dr. Frobenius, in his study of African civilizations, says: "The real African need by no means resort to the rags and tatters of bygone European splendor. He has precious ornaments of his own, of ivory and feathers, fine plaited willow-ware, weapons of superior workmanship. Nothing more beautiful, for instance, can be imagined than an iron club carefully wound round with strips of metal, the handle covered with snake-skin." And Dr. Boas has recently called attention to the "dainty basketry" of the Congo and the Nile Lakes, the "grass mats of most beautiful patterns" made by some of the Negro tribes, and "the beautiful iron weapons of Central Africa, which excel in symmetry of form, and many of which bear elaborate designs inlaid in copper, and are of admirable workmanship." The famous bronzes of Benin, about which there has recently been so much discussion, have, perhaps, been stimulated in form and in the figures designed by Portuguese and Hindu art, but they "are far superior in technique to any European work (Boas)," and their existence indicates an artistic past for certain regions of West Africa hitherto quite unsuspected.

#### MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, ETC.

While the question of our musical instruments is as yet far from being satisfactorily settled, it would be strange indeed if so musical race as the African Negroes had had nothing to do with their origin or their development. Negro Africa possesses many varieties of drums, and of stringed instruments akin to the harp and the violin, etc. Indeed all stages necessary for the development of the harp from the simplest form to the instrument as we find it among the ancient Egyptians previous to its dispersal over Asia and Europe are to be met with on African soil, and the attribution of its invention to some Negro people is quite reasonable, on the evidence in hand. And the same thing, with somewhat less certainty, perhaps, may be said of the violin. In the characteristically African *marimba*, or xylophone, we

may have the beginnings of the piano and closely related musical instruments, in which case, one of its names, "the Negro piano" assumes a new significance. The "pot drum" so-called, and perhaps another variety or two of that instrument, originated also in Negro Africa. The *goura* of certain South African peoples is a curious musical instrument which still awaits adoption or modification by civilized man.

#### IRON-SMELTING, ETC.

The *ars artium*, however, of Negro Africa is the use of iron. The question of the origin of the art of iron-smelting is now being treated in detail by ethnologists, and, while general agreement has not been reached, the mass of evidence so far disclosed, has convinced eminent men of science like Boas and von Luschan that the smelting of iron was first discovered by the African Negroes, from whom, by way of Egypt and Asia Minor, this art made its way into Europe and the rest of the Old World. Among the arguments in favor of this view are the fact that, at the time of the contact of the African Negroes with white men for the first time, iron-smelting was common and widespread among them, the work of the smith having almost everywhere reached a somewhat high degree of perfection; the evidence in the hieroglyphic records and elsewhere in ancient Egypt of the derivation of iron from the south at a comparatively late stage of civilization; and the comparative lateness also of its appearance in the ancient cultures of Asia, the Mediterranean region and Northern and Occidental Europe. It should check our racial pride a little to consider the possibility, perhaps, rather, the certainty, that "at a time when our own ancestors still utilized stone implements or, at best, when bronze implements were first introduced, the negro had developed the art of smelting iron," and that "his race has contributed more than any other to the early development of the iron industry" (Boas). And, when we remember all that the discovery and utilization of iron has meant for human civilization, it should bring the blush to shame to our cheeks to learn from the public prints that,

when the great iron-master of Pittsburg, the foremost of American philanthropists, visited the city of Atlanta, Ga., to see the result of his labors, he was ostentatiously shown all over one library over whose threshold no Negro may ever pass, while his hosts in their automobile hurried him by the door of the other his money had erected "for black men only."

### III

The achievements of individual Negroes, taken from Africa in childhood and educated in lands where the Negro was looked upon as a man like the rest is another source of valuable information on our subject. In illustration of the point at issue the following cases may be cited:

*Miguel Kapranzine.* In 1631 the Portuguese finally established as chief of the Kalanga, a Bantu tribe, of South-east Africa, a native convert, who, a few years before, had been proclaimed by the army and the Dominican missionaries, "Manuza, Emperor of Monomotapa." The Christian forces were completely successful in a great battle, and among the captives taken was the young son of Kapranzine, really the rightful claimant to the throne. This boy was sent to Goa, technically a prisoner, and handed over to the Dominicans of that city to be educated at the expense of the crown. He was baptized by the name of Miguel, became a member of the order of the Dominicans, devoted himself arduously and successfully to study, and won fame as one of the greatest preachers in Portuguese India. In 1670, when he was still in the prime of life, the General of the Dominican Order conferred upon him the degree of Master in Theology, which would correspond to our D.D. When he died, he held the position of Vicar of the convent of Santa Barbara in Goa. As Mr. Theal, the historian of South Africa, observes, "fiction surely has no stranger story than his." From a Kaffir kraal to high office in the religious life of a city, of which the saying went, "If you have seen Goa, you do not need to see Lisbon!"

*J. E. J. Captein.* The story of Jacques Elisa Jean Captein is certainly one of the most interesting in all the long annals of human education. When only seven years of age, he was taken from his home on the Andreas River, in Western Africa, by a slave-trader, who presented him to a friend. This man, when he returned to Holland, brought the Negro boy with him, had him baptized as a Christian, and made arrangements for his education in the best manner of the times. Young Captein proved an excellent scholar, and soon obtained a good knowledge of Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Chaldean. At the University of Leyden he studied theology, obtaining his degree there, in that faculty, in 1742. Afterwards he went as missionary to Elmina in Guinea, a settlement which since 1637, had been in possession of the Dutch. The title of his thesis is worth quoting in full: *Dissertatio politico-theologica de servitute libertati christianae non contraria, quam sub praes. J. van den Honert, publ. disput. subj. J. E. J. Captein, afer. Lugd. Bat. 1742.* This thesis, in which slavery is defended as not contrary to Christian liberty is said to be learned and skilful even for the days in which it was written. Captein also wrote a Latin elegy on the death of the Rev. Mr. Manger of The Hague, his friend and instructor. He was likewise the author of an appeal to the heathen to accept Christianity, and of a volume of sermons in Dutch, delivered by him at different times in various cities of the country.

*A. W. Amo.* Even more remarkable was the career of a native of Axim on the Gold Coast, West Africa, known as Anton Wilhelm Amo. When quite young, he was brought as a slave in 1707 to Amsterdam, and was soon afterwards presented by Duke Anton Ulrich von Braunschweig to his son, August Wilhelm, who provided for his education in generous fashion. He attended both the Universities of Halle and Wittenberg. At Halle, he took his degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a dissertation, *De jure Maurorum*, which is praised in the programme by the Dean of the Philosophical Faculty in these words: *Excussis tam veterum quam novorum placitis, optima quaeque selegit, selecta enucleate ac dilucide interpretatus est.* He was

also spoken of as "vir nobilissimus et clarissimus." After taking his degree, he seems to have qualified as a University lecturer, or professor, and to have delivered regular courses. The title of his Inaugural Address at Wittenberg is as follows: *Dissertatio inauguralis philosophica de humanae mentis APATHIA, seu sensionis vel facultatis sentiendi in mente humana absentia, et earum in corpore nostro organico ac vivo praesentia, quam praes. etc. publ. def. autor Ant. Guil. Amo, Guinea-Afer, phil. etc. Mag. Wittenbergae 1734.* It is interesting that this Negro should have chosen "Apathy" as the subject of his discourse. He was also the author of other philosophical treatises in Latin. Like Captein, Amo was noted for his linguistic attainments. He is said to have been able to speak Dutch, German, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and was certainly able to write several of these tongues. The Prussian government of the time conferred upon him the high honor of "Geheim-Rat," something over and above his merely scholastic achievements. The death of his benefactor, the Duke of Brunswick, seems to have affected him deeply, and, after some thirty years' residence in Europe, he returned to his home in Africa. There he found that his father and sister were still alive. Amo himself was still living there in isolation in 1753, when he was visited by Dr. D. H. Gallaudat. Here, again, from a Negro hut on the Gold Coast to a degree from one German University and a position in the Faculty of another, and the title of "Excellency" from the Government of the country that was soon to dominate all Central Europe, is a career almost incredible. No wonder Grégoire, in his monograph in defence of the Negro, published at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the German anatomist, Tiedemann, in his work on the brain of the Negro (1837), cited the cases of Captein and Amo as settling the question of the intellectual capacity of the black man.

*Negroes at the Universities of Portugal and Spain.* The history of Angola under the rule of the Portuguese shows that many Negroes from that part of Africa studied successfully at Coimbra. It may not be out of place to mention here also the fact that among the distinguished graduates of

this ancient institution of learning is to be counted A. C. G. Crespo (1846-1883) poet and man of letters, with both an American and a European reputation, and at one time a member of the Portuguese Chamber of Deputies. His father was a white man, his mother a black slave in Brazil. The University of Seville in Spain is said to have had at one time a Negro as a member of its Faculty, viz., Don Juan Latino, a noted Professor of Latin. It is probable that a complete record of the activities of the Universities of Latin Europe would reveal other interesting instances of the participation of Negroes in the academic world.

*Adjai Crowther.* In 1812 there was born at Uchugu, in the Yoruba country of West Africa, a boy named Adjai, whose life is significant for the interpretation of Negro capacities and achievements. At the age of seven, he was carried off by slave traders, passing from hand to hand until 1822, when he was rescued by the Captain of a British frigate, and given over for the purposes of education, to the missionary authorities at Bathurst, the chief place of Gambia, then a part of the colony of Sierra Leone. After three years' study, he became a Christian, adding to his native appellation of Adjai, the name of Samuel Crowther, a clergyman of the Anglican Church. He was afterwards connected with the mission school at Regent's Town and the Fourah Bay College. He also served in Nigeria, and was with the first Niger Expedition in 1841. In 1842 he went to England, and, having studied a year at the Church Missionary College at Islington, was ordained a clergyman of the Anglican Church by the Bishop (Blomfield) of London. Returning to Africa, he labored among his own people at Abbeokuta, etc. He took part in the second and third Niger Expeditions of 1854 and 1857, and, from this time on, contributed much to our knowledge of the geography and the philology of West Africa. While on another visit in 1864 to England, he was consecrated Bishop of the Niger Territory and, when he returned to the scene of his missionary labors, he gathered round him a corps of native assistants and continued active until his death, which occurred, in 1891. Besides being remembered as a missionary and

teacher, Bishop Crowther deserves fame as an explorer and geographer, and also as a philologist. The journal of his Niger explorations contains some of the first reliable information concerning the peoples of that region, and, in 1879, the Royal Geographical Society of London, on the motion of Dr. R. N. Cust, voted him a gold watch for his services to geographical science. In 1881 he made a linguistic map of the Niger Region, which was used to good advantage by Mr. Cust in the preparation of his monograph on *The Modern Languages of Africa*. It is to Bishop Crowther that we owe the first knowledge of the existence of some of the numerous languages and dialects of this region of West Africa. He is the author of several religious tracts, school-books, etc., and also of a translation of the Bible and the Prayer-Book in the Yoruba language, his mother-tongue. In 1882 he again visited England, being received with the honors due him. To have read a paper before a distinguished audience, under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society, was a great distinction for one who had been a slave in far-off West Africa. To receive the degree of D.D. from the famous University of Oxford was one still greater. Many of the details of this man's remarkable life may be read in his autobiography, published at London, in 1888, under the title of the *Slave boy who became Bishop*. Dr. Cust does not hesitate to say that he was "fully the equal of the European in intellect," and his achievements surely lifted him far above the average. The same thing might be said also of some of his colleagues and co-adjutors, such, *e.g.*, as Archdeacon Johnson, etc.

The cases of individuals like Miguel Kapranzine, Captein, Amo and Crowther show what had been accomplished when the Negro has been treated as a man, even when the things to be done, and the criteria of judgment concerning their accomplishment and value belong not to his own, but to our race. Such things as these, together with the facts to be won from the study of Negro culture in Africa itself, and with the undoubted evidence of progress displayed by the Negro in America since the days of slavery, prove alike the



generically human endowment of the black race and its capacity for specific culture-development.

#### IV

We have now passed in review the contribution of the Negro to the general stock of the world's culture, individually and racially, and it must be admitted by all that his share in it is as thoroughly human as has been that of any other branch of mankind. When one sums up his gifts to the common stock, through his toil as a slave in many lands, through the mixed races of Northern and Eastern Africa in their contact with the Semites and the Aryans, and the claim his blood has upon some of the great men of civilized Europe, and adds to this the toll of his achievements as a race in the African home-land and in the New World of America, one can find no reason for excluding him from an important rôle in the future development of mankind.

Mankind is one; there is but one human race. The original unity of human beginnings has been lost in the spreading of man all over the face of the earth. But the time for emphasizing the differences thus developed, or rather thus acquired, is past. The day of the specially and the selfishly racial is disappearing, to be succeeded by the era of the generically and altruistically human, in the highest and noblest sense. The way of reintegration is already beginning to be trod. The future of the Negro is the future of all other numerous and culture-bearing races of the world, ultimate absorption into that re-unified humanity, with whose advent, evolution, properly so called, will really begin. He has the same right to lose the ephemerally racial in the eternally-human, that the brown man, the red man, the yellow man, and the white man have, no more and no less. There shall, indeed, come a time when there will be no question of race, and when the loose threads of evolution will be gathered together into one skein of infinite beauty and loveliness. Such things must be. The ideal of the world's hopes is not the domination of so-called "lower" races by the "higher," not the "new nationalism," or the "old im-

perialism," but the humanity that was intended in the beginning and shall be in the end. For the selfish race, our own, no less than others, there waits some divine transformation, such as the poet saw for the individual when he told how

"Love took up the harp of Life, and smote on all the chords  
with might;  
Smote the chord of Self, that, trembling, passed in music out of  
sight."

The divine artist who is to make music out of the present discord of the races of men, may seem to linger, but his coming is sure. Let us prepare to welcome him!

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NOTE. For other material along the lines of argument here presented the reader may be referred to the following:

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- BARTH, H. *The Minerva Library of Famous Books.* Edited by G. T. Bettany, M.A., B.Sc. *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa. Including Accounts of Tripoli, the Sahara, the Remarkable Kingdom of Bornu, and the Countries around Lake Chad.* By Henry Barth, Ph.D., D.C.L. . . . London, 1890, pp. xxxii, 608.
- BOAS, F. *The Anthropological Position of the Negro.* *Van Norden Mag.*, April, 1907. vol. ii, pp. 40-47.
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- BOAS, F. *Industries of the African Negroes.* *Southern Workman* (Hampton, Va.), vol. xxxviii, 1909, pp. 217-229.
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- WRIGHT, R. R. Negro Companions of Spanish Explorers. *Amer. Anthropol.* vol. iv, N. S., 1902, pp. 217-228.

COMMENTS UPON PRESIDENT G. STANLEY  
HALL'S PAPER, MISSION PEDAGOGY

President Stanley Hall speaks sympathetically in the beginning of his article of the zeal which Christian missionaries have shown. His argument is but an emphatic reminder of the old problem of life, the problem of making the zealous wise and the wise zealous. Ardent souls loyal to Christianity laid hand to the problem of the spreading of Christianity among the nations. But for the most part they had in the earlier days no realization of the composite nature, the syncretist character of the Christianity which they themselves represented. Too often they had but slight sense of the religious and moral value of the religions of those to whom they went. They expected to displace these latter by the former. Nothing is more noteworthy in our time than the change of these ideas.

I suppose that the true missionary has been led however to condemn the course of accommodation pursued by the Jesuits in India and China because of the element of indirection which it often involves. He would feel the same thing about the propaganda for Mohammedanism, which Dr. Hall describes and which he rightly says is being prosecuted with such amazing success to-day. The missionary could not bring himself to any steps of accommodation save those which could be carried out in candor and truthfulness. But there is much which can be done honorably and nobly in this way.

The antagonism to Catholicism has without doubt also made it difficult for the Protestant missionary to judge the Roman Catholic efforts in their best light. He knows by the history of the downfall of the Jesuit order in Paraguay that its dominance there had led to the gravest abuses and to the practical enslavement of the people. At the same time we cannot disguise from ourselves that the Protestant prop-

aganda has often demanded far too much of simple peoples and been far less effective than has the disciplinary method of the Roman Catholic church. Here are beyond question two great ideals and contrasting methods and their disparity with the merits and failures of each are worthy of far profounder and more sympathetic study than these ever yet have received.

The point which President Hall makes on page 143 as to the subconscious element in the life of peoples and its resurgence when it has been unwisely dealt with is perhaps the most suggestive in his paper. There is no truth which the history of missions more constantly illustrates: His diagnosis of the cause of our failure at this point and his declaration as to the remedy seem to me absolutely just. The development of the good in the ethnic religions must precede the elimination of the bad. In mission history almost uniformly the opposite course has been instinctively and persistently pursued.

EDWARD CALDWELL MOORE.

Harvard University.

I accept with some diffidence the Editor's courteous suggestion looking to a brief article dealing with the points raised by Dr. Stanley Hall in his paper upon "Mission Pedagogy." The President of Clark University is so great an authority on the whole field of pedagogy and has evidently been so careful a student of systems of education, organized and unorganized, in the Far East, and one is bound to agree with so much that he says that it would appear both hazardous and ungracious to emphasize any difference with him in the positions which he takes. I feel, however, that there is somewhat of a difference between his point of view and that of those who have engaged in missionary education.

Dr. Hall's approach to the subject seems to be so much from the side of pedagogy that it, perhaps, does not allow for that impelling force of religion which so largely leads those who have gone into those fields. And still I feel that there could hardly be a better statement of the position of the missionary educationist than that with which the article begins,

namely, that the very purest, highest and perhaps strongest manifestation of the teaching instinct is found in missionary work and that with all its defects missionary effort has rarely ever lacked the one essential thing, zeal.

I agree also with the statement that to-day education, carried on under these auspices in Asiatic fields, groans and travails in labor for a new dispensation; that it needs a larger light and a more comparative presentation and even reconstruction, though, perhaps, not so radical as Dr. Hall would seem to think necessary. Certainly not to the extent of "a new soul."

It would indeed be well for the East if a great master should arise fortified with modern learning, charged with the positive inspiration for original reconstruction and able to re-state Christianity in a way to fit the oriental cultured mind as Paul adjusted it to the leaders of the Greek cities. I cannot, however, bring myself to feel that until these ideals are achieved Christianity will remain a geographical expression. Indeed it seems to me that it has never been in any real sense so limited.

The difficulty in dealing with the educational problems of great and historic peoples lies largely in the fact that it is difficult to get at their educational ideals. What chiefly concerns us as students of the education of a people without specific educational institutions is to bring into view the religious idea as the ultimate expression of the national life. What is true of the development of the German school system, in more recent times, is also true in large part of the developing of the educational system, for example, of India in past centuries: the clue must be found in the religious ideals as tempered by prevailing social and political influences. Indeed it has always been true that the presence of a dominant force in the life of a nation is seen to bring about some change in the educational system making for the permanence of the existing ideals, or their expulsion, according to the aims of the leaders of the movement; and never have forces been found so dominant or so calculated to take a deep hold upon the life of a people as these conditioned religious ideals.

The attractiveness as well as the seriousness of Mission

education in Asiatic countries lies in the fact that it is carried on amongst the great historic religions which have challenged the assent of highly intellectual races. It seems to me, therefore, that the religious factor, as made up by the contact of the East and the West, is bound to be more dominant than a pure Western pedagogy would naturally recognize. It is true, as President Hall states, that we must know and feel the mighty pedagogic power of concession, adaptation and accommodation and that, perhaps, no one is fully qualified to labor for the heathen to-day who has not arduously worked his way to a sympathetic appreciation of what there is in the native faith and is able to idealize it all it will bear. But again I cannot fully agree with the statement in the paper that the missionary's first care should be to revive the best of all the old beliefs and rites and restore them to their highest estate with a view, only, to making the best possible Mussulmans, Confucionists and Buddhists and on this basis to educate, if the author means exclusively upon this basis without natural response to the religious impulse in the mind and heart of the teacher.

Again, while the educated young Buddhist whom Dr. Hall describes in the quotation on page 142, may reach a high ideal he hardly satisfies in this conclusion the requirements of the Christian faith, nor does he fully satisfy in the stage that he reaches the missionary teacher. In answer to the inquiry as to whether such a man should be rejected or even urged to break caste, on the grounds of both religion and sociology many would answer in the affirmative especially with reference to the second part of the inquiry.

With one, however, of Dr. Hall's concluding theses I find myself in hearty agreement, that the development of the good among all non-Christian races should precede the active elimination of the bad; that we should commend early and condemn late, praise and encourage generously, antagonize sparingly and learn much before we attempt to teach.

The missionary enterprise as a whole has never degenerated, I think, into a mere egotism compassing sea and land for the purpose of making one proselyte for its own sake. There is, however, a sense in which certain beliefs must be destroyed

as a precursor to the establishment of truer conceptions of life. It is not, however, a mere iconoclasm, a ruthless destruction that seeks to destroy the outer image of the shrine while the reverence within the heart of the worshipper remains. The idolater's faith, as such, must be elevated before it is altogether wise or safe to cast down his idols.

The missionary educationist is not engaged in a mere campaign for the destruction of alien faiths, or the overthrow of other ideals. Rather it is an ambassage for the emancipation of subject races from the fetters which bind them and their incorporation into an empire of highest spiritual freedom. The missionary teacher does not attempt so much to impose a new creed as to invoke a richer and purer faith. It is his aim not to deny but to affirm, and, like the great Master, not to destroy but to fulfill.

I am sincerely grateful to President Hall for his very stimulating and instructive article although I do not find it possible to agree with him in all of his positions.

WM. I. CHAMBERLAIN.

Rutgers College,  
New Brunswick, N. J.

President Hall has placed us all under a debt of gratitude by his suggestive and illuminating article on Mission Pedagogy in the October JOURNAL. There is no doubt that the work of a missionary offers a rare opportunity for the exercise of the highest teaching functions. In the past he has ever been a teacher, sometimes to solitary individuals or small groups, at others becoming a constructive educative force to peoples and nations as was Verbeck in Japan and Paul who rose to the primacy among all missionaries in the proclamation of truth.

These are days when methods are highly valued and time and effort gladly given to find those which will prove most effective. Outworn and profitless methods should be discarded when their inefficiency is clearly shown and new ways sought out to make effective the world mission of Christianity. It is not sufficient to say that the aim and the method are condensed in the commission to "preach the



gospel to every creature." Our Lord amplified the word preach in the terms "teach" and "disciple" all nations. In connection with this amplified form of the Christian mandate the history of Buddhism and Islam in contrast with the methods of Christianity in their missionary expansion is full of interesting and valuable lessons.

(1) Buddhism was free from those local limitations which have marked tribal and national cults and had in it certain elements of appeal to men when caught in the grip of the mystery of suffering. But it lacked the expulsive power, the compelling missionary motive found in the command of Christ to go disciple all nations. Buddhism spread but slowly at first. It took five hundred years to reach China; four hundred years later it entered Korea and two centuries afterward was carried by the Peninsular people to Japan. Its spread seems to have been due to the attraction of its doctrines and art. It sounded the note of pity to an era that was familiar with ferocity. Its art in sculpture and painting spoke to the esthetic nature. Its royal origin appealed to princely houses. It was thus well credentialed socially. In China, Korea, and Japan it attained its first footing among the ruling classes and its first temples were palaces. It worked from the top of society down. It brought in a higher stage of culture.

Christianity has added to the attraction of its doctrines and art the compulsion of a command. But in its missionary efforts in the first centuries and in the present era it has followed a reverse order from that of Buddhism.

Its first footing has been among the lowly folk and its ability to regenerate and empower despised outcasts has been a convincing apologetic to the higher orders of society as to its moral values. It has worked usually from the lower strata of society upward.

(2) Islam had in it the compulsion of a command and as President Hall so clearly outlined was the sword bearer, the deputy of a missionary propaganda which knew no *via media*. It was either believe or die. The crusaders represent the Christian reaction to the Islamic impact. They were not an expression of essential Christianity but the attempt of a

warlike era to interpret the missionary idea in the spirit and terms of life then prevailing. As military strategy they were not fruitless but achieved some results, but as missionary endeavor they were a complete and conspicuous failure. They infused a fierce and alien spirit into Christianity and the step from the Crusade against infidelity to the Inquisition against heresy and religious non-conformity was a short one. But the Inquisition like the Crusades contained within itself the elements of its own condemnation and defeat. Both these methods expressed not our Christianity but our religion denaturized.

(3) The missionary methods of the Jesuits and other Roman propagandists of the early years of the post Crusade period represent a reaction against the fierce and warlike methods of the day. Possibly it will be better to say they represent a surrender to expediency, for a propaganda by arms and inquisition had no opening in the Asiatic fields, at least. The effort to propagate Christianity by addressing the political and social life of the day reminds us of the plan followed by the early Buddhists. It met with some success. The Roman Christian Church of today in Japan has an unbroken succession with the church founded by Xavier, spite of two centuries of the severest possible measures for its extirpation. I found the name of Mateo Ricci a legend familiar to Koreans of all classes two decades ago, though they did not know him as a foreigner and a missionary except in the Roman Church of the Peninsula which still uses the catechism he wrote.

The difficulty with the old Jesuit methods was that as a sole method it was inefficient. It may have been the only line of endeavor possible in the time and we in our day may not withhold our meed of admiration for the heroic fortitude, the audacity of their conceptions, the brilliant scholarship and the many achievements of those men. But the method unsupported by a real endeavor to reach the individual and introduce the moral dynamic of vital Christianity into his life was simply the putting of a contributory and auxiliary arm of service for the main thing.

(4) The question is raised as to whether it would not be

better for a man in the non-Christian nations who becomes converted to Christianity to remain in the old historic faiths endeavoring to be a conserver, reviver, and interpreter of the best that is in them and to diffuse among his friends the new light he has found, rather than coming out taking the Christian name and becoming enrolled as a convert. There have not been lacking such. This was the course followed by Keshub Chunder Sen, P.C. Mozoomdar and the leaders of the Brahmo Somaj, and it has not been without its results. Yet the idea precipitates us into serious difficulties immediately. It is a practical impossibility for a man to maintain his ground inside the historic faiths and at the same time continue a Christian. Everyone of the ethnic faiths have tests which as a Christian he could not pass and at the same time retain his self-respect as a sincere and truthful man. There are many things he could do without offense of conscience, but there are points at which he must necessarily part company with his co-religionists and stand isolated and in a separate class as reprehensible in their eyes as though he had actually entered the Christian Church. The atmosphere of the non-Christian faiths is not a wholesome one for a Christian character. He could not hope to placate the men of his time. No matter how convincing might be his arguments and full and complete the list of features in the old faiths he would preserve, the fact that he discarded part of the religious heritage and was a reformer and a Christian at heart would raise barriers. Confucius and Siddartha were both of them rejected by the men of their time, and little in the way of a friendly reception can be hoped for in these times. On the other hand the Christian come-outer may be branded as a traitor and persecuted but he is respected for his courage and admired for his steadfastness. He does not magnify the defects of the old faiths, nor misinterpret their message, but in a wonderful way links together in his thought the points of contact between the old and the new. The thoughtful convert from Buddhism and Confucianism feels in his heart that if Siddartha and Confucius were living today they would be the leaders in the work of Christianizing Asia, so no disloyalty is involved in doing what the Sages themselves would do if they were here.

(5) The surest and most satisfactory method will be that which will bring about the speedy naturalization of the Christian Church in Asia and Africa. Any foreign and alien element which is offensive should be discarded. The essential truths of Christianity should be put in the possession of the peoples of the world field that they may pass them through the genius of their own character and interpret them into the terms of life they best understand. Already men of impressive personality and splendid powers of leadership are emerging in the Christian Church, men like Chatterji in India, and Honda in Japan. And is it too much to hope that they are but the forerunners of other and mightier men who will arise in the growing churches of those lands and become the apostles of Christianity challenging and compelling a nation-wide, race-wide hearing? We are told that in the Roman, Greek and Evangelical Communions in non-Christian lands there is a combined native membership of 21,000,000. In India the Christian bodies are increasing at a rate 25 times greater than that of the increase of the population. In these facts lie possibilities of a momentous nature in the religious history of the world.

The suggestion of President Hall that what is needed is more instruction and better specialized training for missionaries is most timely; and that mission work should be made a part of pedagogy in every school and college is evident from the fact that missions and their results are coming to be more and more factors which must be considered in world movement.

GEORGE HEBER JONES.

Mission Rooms of the  
Methodist Episcopal Church

I have read with close interest President G. Stanley Hall's article on "Mission Pedagogy" in the October number of *RACE DEVELOPMENT*. The article reveals a keen insight into the fundamental facts which underlie the propagation of Christianity among Eastern and backward races. President Hall shows himself to be a thorough student of missions as well as one familiar with the problems of religion as

they appear among all races. I have no doubt that a great majority of officers of mission boards and missionaries will agree with him in many of the positions he takes.

With reference to the importance of the missionary's understanding not only the languages of the people among whom and for whom he works, but their manner of thought and point of view and their fundamental practices and belief, it should be stated that this is regarded as of such importance by the leading mission boards of the country that every endeavor is made to secure for prospective missionaries the best courses of instruction along the line of ethnology and comparative religions that the best institutions in America and Europe can afford. The various missionary societies are practically agreed that the new missionary to any country should not enter at once upon the work but should devote himself to a systematic study of the vernacular spoken by the people as well as of the people themselves, until their vernacular becomes his and he has begun to enter effectively into their manner of thought and to understand their point of view.

Of course it is understood that no one can speak for all missionaries or all missionary societies; but so far as the writer knows, the position suggested above is practically the position of the leading missionary societies of America. The instruction given to missionaries, by some Boards at least, before they enter upon their work, includes many of the points covered by President Hall in his article. The missionaries are instructed emphatically not to make direct or indirect attacks upon the religious beliefs and practices of the people among whom they go, but to approach these beliefs and practices from a sympathetic point of view that the work they do shall be constructive, presenting to the people themselves no suggestion of violence but leading them onward, outward and upward into broader conceptions of religion, both in the abstract and in the concrete.

It cannot be said that the missionary at any period of his life reaches a point of absolute knowledge of all there is in the faith of those for whom he labors, and yet it is eminently true that in many cases the native people themselves

freely concede to the missionary a more comprehensive knowledge of their own religion and an ability to put upon it a more satisfactory interpretation than they themselves possess.

The writer, in company with a missionary, was, a few years ago, shown through one of the famous Hindu temples in a well-known city in India, under the guidance of the high priest of the temple. He spoke English well. In attempting to explain one of the idols to which we came, the high priest showed himself so much in error that the missionary very politely suggested that possibly he was mistaken, whereupon the priest asked the missionary to take up the explanation. The high priest confided to the writer that the missionaries made a more careful study of these things than the Indians did and were almost universally better informed regarding Indian religious mythology and legends. I believe that what was true in this instance is true in a multitude of cases.

It is not an uncommon experience for a missionary, in speaking to native peoples, to take a text from their own sacred books. The writer has seen this done in many instances. In an address given upon a text thus taken the missionary utilizes the truth contained therein as the basis of his remarks, and develops it in the way that carries his audience with him; thus he leads them into new regions of thought and gives them a new vision of the possibilities of the grain of truth found in their own literature and which he shows to be capable of general application.

There is one point in the article in which Dr. Hall has lost sight of the fact that the East is passing through a revolution at the present time, which includes practically one-half the population of this globe. This revolution is not only intellectual and national but it is also religious, and perhaps in some countries the emphasis should be placed upon the religious side of the changes that are transpiring. Dr. Hall's warning that the missionaries should not endeavor to hurry the East is hardly applicable to-day in the missionary work of any country. The East is hurrying the missionary. The problem before all the missionary

organizations is how to keep up with the East in the demands it is making upon the West for better education and for more religious instruction. One of the alarming features of this great movement is that it seems to be loosening the hold of the Eastern religions upon the people whom they once dominated. There are few if any missionaries, I believe, who would not regard the situation as alarming in the extreme if the Eastern peoples repudiate the claims of their national or ethnic religions, and have no religion to put in their place. Probably all would be agreed—Dr. Hall himself declares this—that the Eastern religions are rapidly becoming decadent. Instinctively and by tradition the man of the East is religious. It would be nothing short of a dire calamity to have him assume that all religion is superstition and that the East can get along and prosper with modern education and the external forms of Western civilization, without religion.

The fact is that the people of the East, conscious that their old religions are losing their hold, are inquiring for a religion which shall satisfy their awakened intelligences and which shall meet the requirements of the new forms of civilization which they are endeavoring to adopt. These inquiries are becoming so numerous and persistent that the missionary is taxed to the extreme to meet them. He no longer finds himself seeking for a hearing but he finds himself sought by people who wish to know about Christianity,—how it meets the inquiries of an awakened and trained intellect, how it can adapt itself to the new civilization, what it can do for the individual, for society, and for the nation. These and many other questions are such as confront the modern missionary in the East to-day, and, as was said, there is no danger that the missionary will crowd the East with his religious ideas, for the East is already crowding the missionary.

The East would have no patience with a Christian teacher from the West who endeavored to persuade the Buddhists and the Hindus that their ancestral religions were adequate to meet all the requirements of the new age. They know their own religions, their weaknesses and their strength,

their faults and their virtues, and multitudes have already come to the conclusion that these must be materially changed or displaced. I am sure Dr. Hall would not have the missionary societies of Christendom send missionaries to such as these to persuade them to cling to their ancient beliefs, when both the West and the East know that these do not in themselves possess that which meets the demands of enlightened peoples for an intelligent and reasonable faith, nor have the power to build up a pure society and create a permanent state.

However much the supporters of missionary societies in Christian lands might oppose such a change in missionary work, it would not approach the opposition or even ridicule which such an endeavor would meet in Japan, China and India, and were one to attempt to apply this method of approach to those whose religion is called *animistic*, the contrast would be even greater.

The approach to these peoples with the simple truths of a pure Christianity does not give the impression of violence but rather of revelation of that which they have long sought in vain to discover in their own forms of devotion.

The Edinburgh Missionary Conference is a clear demonstration of the feeling on the part of the great missionary societies of the world that sectarian differences, in the mission field at least, must be reduced to a minimum, if not utterly effaced, and that in the East there is little or no call for a theology or church polity that bears upon its face a sectarian trade mark. If there was one thing in which the Edinburgh Conference agreed more than in any other, it was that only the simplest form of unsectarian Christian truth should be taught in the mission field, and that the natives of those countries should be left to construct their own religious institutions according to their interpretation of what Christianity offers to them and demands of them. It is not the endeavor or purpose of missionary societies to plant a Western religion or to establish Western Christian institutions in the East, but to plant the seed of Christian truth in the hearts and intellects of the men of the East and to leave Eastern men and Eastern society to construct those insti-



tutions which, in their judgment, and under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, the East requires for its best religious development.

JAMES L. BARTON.

Mission Rooms of the  
American Board.

Any discussion of mission pedagogy must presuppose that one faith is purer and better than others, and that therefore it should be able to convert all mankind to its doctrines and beliefs. To permit so dogmatic a supposition to be tenable in the light of modern ideas, there are people who claim that every human being is by nature Christian, and that the various religions of mankind represent merely various stages of evolution in the same love and service of God and man. Here we come at once to a dilemma. Shall we leave other faiths alone, so that they may take their natural and independent course of advancement or decay, or shall we place ourselves upon the intellectual level of the so-called lower religions in order, as is asserted, to minimize the odium of assumed superiority? Those who choose the first horn of this dilemma, denounce missions as presumptuous and useless; those favorable to the second view, represent the new type of mission supporters.

Dr. G. Stanley Hall's able contentions, wise and practicable perhaps for other lands, will meet with serious difficulties when applied to the people and faiths of Japan. Not to speak of the national or ethnic cult of Shintoism, how we can reconcile Buddhist conceptions with Christian ideals? Native Japanese gods were once pronounced reincarnations of Buddha, but this was possible only through the pious device made for the sake of the ignorant, of conceding the existence of gods. True Buddhism believes in the vehicle of law, but not in the Lawgiver, and begins with the idea that life itself is a curse. A conventional trinitarianism or unitarianism may be constructed out of the confusing doctrines of the Indian scriptures, but their pessimistic and negative view of life, however deeply other virtues may be nurtured, can never lead up to a personal God-head of

infinite love and mercy. Christianity may have borrowed thoughts and forms from Buddhism or *vice versa*, but the idea of grafting the former upon the stock of the latter seems in no way feasible to those well acquainted with both systems.

Another consideration that demands our attention is the fact that the Japanese mind is always alert and ready to assimilate whatever it may believe to be of advantage; so that any attempt to emphasize that good which they already seem to possess, must inevitably have a decided tendency to weaken the value of any new teachings offered for adoption. Western arts and institutions were implanted in Japanese soil through a firm conviction of their practical advantage, and certainly not on account of the solicitude of outside friends. Through the personal influence and example of zealous missionaries, individual cases of conversion to Christianity have occurred in sufficient number in Japan to justify the hope that the faith of Jesus will now begin a new and independent development according to the native genius and requirement of the Japanese minds. What will best help the growth of this Japanized Christianity will be, not the vision of foreign teachers wearing the mental or religious garb of the Orient, but a more-than personal demonstration of the absolute superiority of their faith; and this more-than-personal demonstration is nothing but the national, international and interracial conduct of Christian peoples. Morality, religion and politics being closely synthesized in the Oriental conscience, and the East having suffered from Western aggression so terribly, nothing can better convince us than Christendom's living up to its noble creeds in its dealings with the rest of mankind. "Universal brotherhood" becomes an empty sound before the incessant accumulation of the engines of slaughter and destruction, and "human equality" sinks into falsehood in the face of the merciless exploitation of the weaker by the stronger.

The Japanese fail to see the exact meaning of Dr. Hall's assertion that there must be a new Oriental type of Christianity, and that "*only those portions of scripture fit for the East*" must be taught there, in order to prevent the already enormous and fast increasing population of Asia from

bringing any calamity on the West. Is it claimed that the Orient should be weak and submissive unto death, in order that the Occident may continue to monopolize the lands it has wrested from others? Or, if the Asiatics must inevitably have more space to live in, is it not better for them to have a religion similar to that of the people among whom they must live? The Hebrews, for instance, have spread all over the world because they have no country of their own; and some peoples are noted for their thrift and fecundity in spite of their Christianity. Whether the East and the West shall meet in collision or in harmony, will depend more upon the attitude of the latter than that of the former. Mission Pedagogy, therefore, should consider both teacher and pupil as in the same category, in so far at least as the intellectual peoples of Asia are concerned. There ought to be a permanent congress of religion, an academy where philosophers and thinkers of the Occident, and the Christian converts of Japan, China and India can study different faiths together, not merely from the view point of mission psychology, but also with a view to establish, through the power of practical religion, that international morality and interracial justice, which alone can make valid the claim of one faith that it shall supercede another. And the seat of such a scholastic institution ought to be somewhere between India and Japan, in order that Europe, America and Asia can conveniently assemble with their own material for study.

MASUJIRO HONDA.

## NOTES AND REVIEWS

### HAWAII'S FUTURE.

Hawaii's future political status is a question which occupies the minds of many of the Territory's thinking men. It is admitted generally that the present territorial form of government is not permanent. The alternatives apparently are government by commission on the one hand, and statehood on the other. Mr. A. F. Judd, a lawyer of Honolulu, in a recent paper read before the Honolulu Social Science Association, expresses the belief that Hawaii should seek statehood: "I take it that we believe that the best that can come to Hawaii is not too much to hope for and work for; that the best that can come to us is to have this archipelago peopled with a homogenous, home-owning, industrious citizen population, large enough to be worthy of and of such a character as to be capable of statehood. Statehood is the only permanent political status for any self-governing community under the American Constitution. I believe that Hawaii should not lose sight of this goal and that in politics, in business and in social matters this should always be in the background as the end to be obtained."

The paper takes the view that the desired political status, statehood, must have as a foundation a proper industrial state of society. The Asiatic is not to be supplanted but supplemented by other races so as to reduce his relative importance in our industries, our politics and our social life.

Various influences are now at work to bring white settlers. The change from the present plantation system which is now under way to a system of raising cane by contract and the substitution of the homestead for the barracks and the establishment of villages of farmers are contributing to industrial stability and equality and attracting white set-

tlers who are bound to create social and civic conditions on which statehood may be built.

By the policy of the present administration the forests and waters are being conserved and the lands homesteaded by desirable settlers who have every opportunity to succeed.

The diversification of crops gives the white man an opportunity and calls for the white man's initiative and resourcefulness in raising and marketing them.

The final up-building of such industrial conditions as will attract and keep settlers and the development of the capacity for statehood are to be consummated slowly. The chief consideration is to be moving in the right direction. The future will take care of itself.

A. F. GRIFFITHS.

*Les Fonctions Mentales dans les Sociétés Inférieures.* BY LEVY BRUHL. Paris: 1910. Pp. 461 (pp. 457-61, table of contents). 7.50 francs.

The author endeavors to show that there are types of mentality in the stage of savagery which vary with the social group. Accepting the social 'strata' of Durkheim and the *L'Année Sociologique* School, he attempts to point out the type of mentality which corresponds with each 'strata.' His method—not the least important thing in the anthropological books of to-day—may be called the *interpretative* as distinguished from the *statistical*, the French rather than the English.

Professor Levy-Bruhl points out that every group of lower society is in a state of constant 'symbiosis,' that is it is constantly moved by a mob spirit supported by traditions and customs which are the common property of all its members and maintained by the unquestioning obedience of all its adherents. Inasmuch as these customs and beliefs have no rational foundation they inevitably take on a magical or mystical significance which is at once an unanswerable argument for their supposed potency and an assurance of their perpetuation. The results of his analysis are an

almost complete substantiation of Farnell's conviction, that something magical or mysterious will be found at the basis of almost every savage belief or custom. Many of the phrases which the writer uses briefly sum up his views of savage mentality: the impenetrability of experience; mentality which is prelogical, as distinguished from antilogical, and antecedes or transcends all the categories of logic; general ideas conceived as concrete; the mystic potency of numbers; and many others of like import.

Whether or not we agree with the author's conclusions, we must concede that he has given us the best interpretation of mental life in lower society that we have, and his book may more properly than any other, be called a psychology of savagery. Every anthropologist who believes that savage customs and beliefs cannot be understood apart from the psychology of savage mind, and likewise every psychologist who wished to extend his knowledge beyond a science of the mentality of civilized society, and more especially if he be of the new school of social psychology, would do well to consult this latest work of Professor Levy-Bruhl.

W. D. WALLIS.

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